

Thinking with photographs at the margins
of Antarctic exploration

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	2
List of Figures and Tables	5
Acknowledgments.....	6
Abstract.....	7
1 Introduction.....	9
1.1 Thinking with photographs	10
1.2 The margins	14
1.3 Antarctic exploration.....	16
1.4 The researcher	20
1.5 Overview	22
2 An unauthorised genealogy of thinking with photographs.....	27
2.1 The new light: photography as tool and witness	28
2.2 The new art: photography enters the art establishment.....	31
2.3 Speaking photographs: photography and communication	33
2.4 Means of address: codes, signs and languages	37
2.5 Vernaculars and objects: returning the material and the unique to the picture	42
2.6 What remains.....	49
2.7 Summary.....	51
3 Beginning again: Walter Benjamin, Roland Barthes and the two ways of the photograph.....	53
3.1 Photographs and the construction of time	54
3.2 The two levels of photographic meaning.....	61
3.2.1 The cultured photograph	62
3.2.2 The remainder.....	68
3.3 Two unavoidable clichés: the studium and the punctum	74
3.4 Summary.....	82
4 A new approach: thinking photographs with Burke.....	84
4.1 Burke's overarching concept of identification	87
4.1.1 First principles: Dramatism, rhetoric and symbolic action	87
4.1.2 Networks of aspiration	90
4.1.3 Recurring patterns and tropes: the scapegoat and irony	97
4.2 Technology and the visual: two issues in the application of Burke's thinking	103
4.3 Burke's pentad of dramatisic analysis	106
4.3.1 The decisive moment before: determining the representative anecdote	107
4.4 Thinking the pentad for photographs.....	109
4.4.1 Act.....	112
4.4.2 Scene	115
4.4.3 Agent.....	118
4.4.4 Agency.....	119

4.4.5	Purpose.....	122
4.5	Through data to transcendence: the alchemic opportunities of Burke's ratios.....	123
4.5.1	Collective photographs: The scene-act ratio.....	125
4.5.2	Individual photographs: The act-agent ratio.....	127
4.6	Summary: the analytical framework for thinking with the Joyce collection	129
5	All there is to use: photographs and Antarctic exploration.....	133
5.1	"A very disappointing region for photography": photographs and the popular construction of Antarctic exploration.....	133
5.1.1	Ponting and Hurley: two unavoidable clichés in Antarctic photography	136
5.1.2	Another approach: scrapbooks, fragments and narratives of impression.....	141
5.2	Recent academic constructions of heroic-era Antarctica	142
5.2.1	Imaginaries and modernity.....	143
5.2.2	Modalities, photographs and marking.....	148
5.3	Summary.....	157
6	Ernest Edward Mills Joyce: constructions of a life	158
6.1	The early years and the first expeditions	158
6.1.1	<i>Discovery</i>	159
6.1.2	<i>Nimrod</i>	161
6.2	Joyce's final Antarctic expedition: The Ross Sea Party, "... the worst crowd of ruffians unhung"	165
6.2.1	Joyce's Ross Sea Party log: The South Polar Trail	167
6.2.2	Photograph making.....	176
6.2.3	The end of the beginning: the return of the <i>Aurora</i>	176
6.3	Re-civilisation: Joyce in the aftermath of Antarctic exploration	178
6.3.1	Captain Mills Joyce the famous explorer: the making of self.....	182
6.4	Summary.....	188
7	Living the ice (im)age: a pentadic thinking of the Joyce collection	191
7.1	The Joyce collection and the scene-act ratio	193
7.1.1	Objects and origins	193
7.1.2	Associations and identifications.....	196
7.1.3	In the picture.....	197
7.2	Agency: the photographic object	201
7.2.1	Copying and inscribing	203
7.2.2	Assembling	207
7.2.3	Time and distance.....	211
7.3	Individual photographs and the act-agent ratio	213
7.3.1	Transition and ritual.....	215
7.3.2	The picture maker.....	224
7.3.3	Human will and networks of identification	231
7.4	Summary.....	236
8	Conclusion.....	241

8.1	Thinking with photographs reviewed	241
8.2	The margins revived	251
8.3	Antarctic exploration revised	253
8.4	Summary.....	257
9	References	260
10	Appendix A: Main British-led expeditions of the heroic era of Antarctic exploration	271
11	Appendix B: Pentad data: two examples from the individual photograph analyses	272
12	Appendix C: The Ernest Edward Mills Joyce Collection at Canterbury Museum.....	282

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1. Head of a sledge dog, probably Ross Sea Party (Con?), ca 1916, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.226.....	199
Figure 2. <i>Nimrod</i> Northern Party at South Magnetic Pole, 16 January 1909, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.28.....	216
Figure 3. <i>Nimrod</i> farthest south camp, approximately 9 January 1909, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.39.....	218
Figure 4. <i>Nimrod</i> farthest point south, 9 January 1909, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.40.....	218
Figure 5. Ross Sea Party, Mt Hope sledging group on return to Hut Point, L-R: back row, Richards, Mackintosh, Joyce; front row: Wild, Hayward, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.137.....	221
Figure 6. Ross Sea Party, group at Cape Evans, 1916, L-R: Richards, Wild, Joyce, 226	
Figure 7. Ross Sea Party, six of the survivors awaiting pick up by <i>Aurora</i> , January 1917, Joyce at left (possibly reverse scanned), Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.132.....	228
Figure 8. Ross Sea Party survivors aboard the <i>Aurora</i> , January 1917, Joyce second from right,.....	229
Figure 9. Group aboard the <i>Aurora</i> , L-R Wild, Joyce, Richards, Shackleton, January 1917, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.144.....	230
Figure 10. Frank Hurley, <i>Endurance</i> trapped in ice, 1915, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.97.....	236
 Table 1. The pentad of dramatistic analysis	110
Table 2. Collection analysis	131
Table 3. Individual photograph analysis	132

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Abstract

This thesis seeks a portable and accessible model for centralising photographs in enquiry. I argue that photographs are potent sites of human value making but are typically relegated to illustrating word-based considerations, while the vast mass of ‘ordinary’ photographs are excluded from even this function. The context in which I develop and test the model is the heroic era of Antarctic exploration, a time and place that is dominated by an entrenched mythology, and where photographs have been assigned a merely pictorial role. In seeking to reactivate these objects and pictures I turn to Elizabeth Edwards’ notion of using photographs to think *with*, tracing the evolution of this idea through generations of thinking *about* photography, and emphasising recent writers such as Geoffrey Batchen, Margaret Olin and Joan Schwartz. My work confirms a resonance with Edwards’ thinking but also a need to emphasise photographic materiality and the photographic collective. Further, I demonstrate that this thinking also resonates with the work of Walter Benjamin and Roland Barthes, confirming a construction of photographs as generative anchoring points in networks of identification that are both culturalised and subjective.

My model for thinking with photographs draws in Kenneth Burke’s pentad of dramatic analysis, arguing a productive fit with his concern to filter the rhetorical detritus of human behaviour as an entrée to viewing core motivations. The pentad has not previously been used to think with photographs but it is able to be deployed successfully for this purpose by refreshing its operation in line with writers such as Robert Cathcart, James Chesebro and Gregory Clark.

For Antarctica, thinking with photographs involves negotiating margins – depicted, physical, temporal and ideological, and in addressing the photographic mass this thesis argues a reactivation of margins as points of insight rather than barriers of exclusion. Recent writers such as Francis Spufford, Stephen Pyne, John Wylie and Kathryn Yusoff have found new ways to construct the performance of Antarctic

exploration, and, in this spirit, the thesis enacts Burke's pentad to think with the photograph collection of 'second tier' Antarctic explorer, Ernest Joyce. It shows Antarctic exploration to be also an intensely personal experience, with the power to overhaul mindsets but offering no guarantee that new expectations can be delivered on. In Joyce's photographs it finds a nexus of contested narratives and contested photographies, and the seeds of a Benjaminian modernity that speak of the personal implications of the dissolution of meta-narratives.

1 Introduction

“Nothing, perhaps, is harder to write about intelligently than photography.”¹

But many people have taken up the challenge and sought, for over a century and a half, to pinpoint just what it is that photographs do, how they do it, and what makes them so important in human networks of information, emotion, value and desire. Most of this thinking has revolved around a small number of photographs (primarily those that have found their way into constructs of art or evidence), and around trying to stretch existing paradigms to fit an amorphous photographic form. While all of this has been going on photographs have proliferated in their millions, the majority ignored by their own discourse and relegated to the perceptual too-hard basket of anonymity and banality. Conventional photographs have also become the stuff of history, their traditional chemical form slipping into the realm of the handicraft and their material presence growing ever stronger and more enigmatic in the collections of museums and archives, where they rest, quietly harbouring complexities of meaning that go largely untapped in traditional text-based thinking.

There remains a need to find a way of engaging with this vast photographic mass on its own terms in order to reanimate the networks of interaction it informs and to encourage fresh thinking about the makers, owners and keepers of these photographs. In recent years a number of commentators have begun to construct a specifically photographic mode of thinking which draws, I shall demonstrate, on several key threads instigated by two foundational writers on photography, Walter Benjamin and Roland Barthes. But these insights and the moods that generate them have yet to coalesce into a methodology that can be made portable in wider engagements with photographs. In part this is because the discussion remains nascent among a handful

¹ Linda Nochlin, foreword to Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock : Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices, Media & Society* ; 4. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), xiii.

of writers around the world. On another level, however, I suggest that it is due to the lack of an overarching interpretive construct which is able to allow the uniquely photographic operatives to circulate while providing a frame that makes their intense detail manageable. I propose that the work of Kenneth Burke, and specifically his pentad of dramatisitic analysis, provides such a frame, and that its incorporation alongside contemporary photographic thinking creates a means of centralising photographs in enquiry that is both portable and accessible.

1.1 Thinking with photographs

The advent of photography shifted the performance of being human in subtle but pervasive ways. Photographs are one of the means by which people present and compare themselves and their values, involving a rhetoric that is gestural and fragmentary. They are part of the public and personal reliquaries of the past by which we seek to engage with events and experiences through the activity of research. Here, photographs may precede words in their ability to hook a viewer and arrest attention, but in terms of more detailed discourse they still function primarily as illustrations – ‘proving’ some textual argument by their analogous nature, or enlivening the discussion with their aesthetic and emotive appeal. In terms of thinking, photographs typically remain secondary as we continue to enact a hierarchy that places words, and particularly written words, at the centre of considering the interactions of people, places and values. But it is clear that photographs do more than illustrate, and they provide a growing challenge for those interested in engaging with the stories and people that they, and often only they, re-present.

Elizabeth Edwards has proposed a means of enquiry which upends the conventional text-picture hierarchy by using photographs “to think with”.² On closer consideration, this simple statement reveals a complex and nuanced perceptual challenge, predicated,

² Elizabeth Edwards, "Negotiating Spaces: Some Photographic Incidents in the Western Pacific, 1883-84," in *Picturing Place : Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, ed. Joan M. Schwartz and James Ryan (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), 261.

as I will demonstrate, upon many decades of thinking *about* photographs and many approaches to their use. Thinking *with* photographs neatly describes the attitudinal shift required to activate photographs at the centre of enquiry, and Edwards' approach provides a useful axis around which to consider the ideas that make this shift possible. However, it does not create an easily portable interpretive model, nor does it answer all of the needs of a primarily photographic engagement.

Edwards suggests that all photographs may be thought with, opening the way for the exiled photographic mass to enter its own discourse. This thinking is not an exercise in forensic reconstruction, but a consideration of how later eyes generate new appreciations of the physical, intellectual and emotional networks that surround a photograph's creation and use. This may involve pushing beyond the neutralising power of the photographic analogue to consider the socio-political relations photographs encapsulate and enforce, but thinking with photographs is not wholly culturalised.³ It must also make room for subjectivity, a dual operation in rational and irrational response which I shall show to have been pioneered by Benjamin and Barthes.

Thinking with photographs must accept triggers that frustrate the conventional search for answers and transform thinking to imagining. Key among these for Edwards are opacity and anonymity,⁴ since "... absence or silence can be an active presence."⁵ Thinking with photographs does not resile from the unknown or the unrepresented. It does not lose itself in the picture plane, but looks in the round and into the round about to engage with photographs as human acts, part of "... a web of negotiated and contested relationships..."⁶ This is the photograph's dense context which is "...

³ Ibid., 261-62.

⁴ Ibid., 263.

⁵ Ibid., 268.

⁶ Ibid., 265.

creative, suggestive and provocative rather than containing in terms of historical meaning.”⁷

Edwards also requires that thinking with photographs leave room for their ambiguous dynamic⁸ which she locates in a particular theatricality, construed as a conscious performative persuasion reflexively intensified, spatially and intellectually, by the photographic frame.⁹ “The spatial patterning of normal social processes is projected into the non-ordinary, outside space and time – like theatre.”¹⁰ Photographs are real but knowingly false, admitting the play of fiction to the record of fact, and moving the emphasis from analogy to persuasion. They are performative anchoring points for human networks of identification, fitting neatly with Kenneth Burke’s dramatic construction of the rhetoric of human behaviour. Although employed in a wide range of rhetorical situations, Burke’s approach has not yet been used to inform thinking with photographs. However, his emphasis on the ‘doing’ of reality and the intersecting networks of persuasive behaviour align well with the photographic thinking voiced by Edwards and writers such as Geoffrey Batchen, Joan Schwartz and Margaret Olin.

Edwards thinks primarily with individual photographs, and in so doing, I believe, misses the opportunity to consider the implications of the interstices of the photographic collective. She considers six examples from a group of 80 photographs taken by British Royal Navy Captain, W A D Acland, in the Pacific during the 1880s.¹¹ Her selection is based on the apparent interpretive completeness of these examples in terms of the narrative of the group.¹² Edwards describes the collective by way of background to the selected photographs¹³ but the exemplars function more as

⁷ Ibid., 263.

⁸ Ibid., 261.

⁹ Ibid., 262.

¹⁰ Ibid., 278.

¹¹ Ibid., 261.

¹² Ibid., 262.

¹³ Ibid., 265-66.

independent interpretive objects. Of course, given the density of discursive detail that emerges from the examples discussed, it would be impractical to consider all 80 in the same way. But collectivity is an important part of the operation of photographs, specific to how they make and remake meaning and experience, and in order to think with photographs on their own terms, it is necessary to take account of this web of association. Here lies a particular challenge for thinking with photographs, and one that appears to be unresolved in Edwards' investigation – the need to hold in balance the photograph as part of a collective as well as independent picture and object. This perceptual feat requires a means of recording, ordering and filtering detail and impression while retaining an emphasis on generative thinking. I will argue that Burke's pentad of dramatisitic analysis, and particularly a refreshed construction of the pentadic scene, offers such an approach, weighing elements of human behaviour within an analytical framework whose objective is to surpass its own register by fostering the emergence of new insight.

Edwards also takes account of the photograph as enduring object but here the endurance is primarily intellectual, where the context of ownership delivers ideas and expectations that inform understandings of the photographic picture.¹⁴ In addition to this kind of endurance, the markers of the photograph's material biography, which Edwards has discussed elsewhere,¹⁵ including object type and intentional or accidental modifications, will also feed into a full mode of thinking with photographs. I shall argue that elements of materiality influence the photographic encounter in physical and ideational ways, as well as considered intellectual ones, pointing to a second area in which Edwards' approach might be intensified in order to take a fuller account of the particular operation of photographs in human networks. I shall suggest that Burke's pentad, and specifically its agency element, provides a means of making the photograph as object a meaningful part of the thinking done with it.

¹⁴ Ibid., 267.

¹⁵ Elizabeth and Janice Hart Edwards, "Introduction: Photographs as Objects," in *Photographs Objects Histories : On the Materiality of Images*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, *Material Cultures* (London: Routledge, 2004).

Edwards' thinking does not reside solely within the photograph. She reaches out to associated word-based information, considering the layers of intent and experience that make the photograph's existence and endurance possible. This includes reference to Acland's letters to his family,¹⁶ Edwards' own knowledge of the traditions of the Pacific communities he encounters,¹⁷ and catalogue information from the museums that hold the photographs today.¹⁸ Again, this approach resonates with Burke's advocacy of a self-aware deployment of contextualising information.

Edwards' thinking with photographs is about what goes on around the photograph as much as what takes place within it. It approaches photographs as something human beings do, at the moment of inception and throughout the duration of their existence. Edwards makes the photograph a starting point for new thinking, incorporating subjective response as well as rational enquiry, and recruiting external ideas and understandings to the process. As I will demonstrate, her approach draws together many of the threads of preceding discussions about photography and points some distance towards how they might productively be recruited into contemporary thinking. However, the ideas she presents are complex and challenging, difficult to embrace and (re)enact for even a small group of photographs. I will argue that Burke's pentad provides a means of bringing Edwards' thinking into a more accessible form, while also allowing two important additional players (the collective and the object) to be given appropriate weight in this lattice of generative thinking.

1.2 The margins

Edwards' discussion is constructed around spatialities. She considers the photographic mood to be spatial, pointing to external intersections which also

¹⁶ Edwards, "Negotiating Spaces: Some Photographic Incidents in the Western Pacific, 1883-84," 267-68.

¹⁷ Ibid., 269, 73-75.

¹⁸ Ibid., 270, 72-73.

resonate within.¹⁹ This relational spatiality has a depth which is physical as well as cultural, and in this way photographs are materially and intellectually marginal, brokering connections and revisions among the attitudes and actions that surround them.

Thinking with photographs creates “... the possibility of different understanding”,²⁰ making photographs also marginal in the sense of rehabilitating voices sidelined by dominant ideologies. Edwards, for example, describes a persistently ethnographic construction of the Acland photographs which has adhered as a consequence of their contexts of preservation. Her aim is to strip back this “ethnographic noise” in order to consider the interplays of colonial intent operative at their inception.²¹ By thinking her way through elements of picture content, Edwards also reveals a compositional subversion of the overt colonialism she seeks,²² highlighting the generative power of the viewer and the potential for the emergence of transcendent insight.

Photographs are also temporally marginal. They obstruct the notion of linear time and linear narratives, and Edwards suggests that the fragmentary stillness of the photograph creates a space in which different temporalities may arise, drawing attention to the photographic space as one of tension and transition.²³ Photographs may be made in marginal places or depict transitional scenes and activities. The Acland photographs relate to a time of encounter between European and Pacific peoples, and Edwards notes that beaches are a common setting – a point of slippage between land and sea with different connotations for each of the cultures involved.²⁴

I will enact my model for thinking with photographs using a collection held by Canterbury Museum in Christchurch, New Zealand, that was assembled by Ernest

¹⁹ Ibid., 266.

²⁰ Ibid., 269.

²¹ Ibid., 267.

²² Ibid., 269, 76-77.

²³ Ibid., 277-78.

²⁴ Ibid., 268-69.

Joyce in response to his participation in several British expeditions to Antarctica during the early twentieth century, during what has become known as the heroic era of Antarctic exploration. These photographs are marginal in all of the senses described by Edwards. Through their endurance over time and their recontextualisation from private to public ownership, they provoke and revise varied responses and reactions. Joyce was a peripheral figure in the heroic era, largely excluded from mainstream reconstructions of its events. While all photographs present fragmented narratives, this is accentuated by the Joyce collection's uneven coverage of his Antarctic activities, which are performed, like the photographs, in a marginal and experientially unfamiliar place, within a wider context of social and intellectual upheaval during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

But the collection also presents another form of photographic marginality. It includes a significant proportion of unidentified, poorly executed, damaged and narratively opaque photographs – the kind of thing commonly referred to as a snapshot, and the kind of thing typically excluded from discussions of both photography and Antarctic exploration. My Burkean thinking with photographs will suggest a way of bringing this photographic marginality into play alongside the more accessible photographs which complete the group and are part of the better-known face of heroic-era Antarctica. As well as testing the Burkean approach, this exercise will provide new considerations of Joyce's Antarctica as constructed and triggered by his photographs.

1.3 Antarctic exploration

Understandings of the place in which a photograph is made will necessarily intersect with its forms and journeys. Edwards' configurations of space are both reconstructive and metaphorical.²⁵ She stresses that “[s]pace and place become more than just settings for an action; they are culturally and socially constructed in dynamic

²⁵ Ibid., 276.

practice.”²⁶ The photographs and the context that Edwards thinks with involve European men exploring spaces and peoples previously unknown to them. By way of background and point of reference she sketches a European construct of the Pacific at the time of this encounter. As she argues, this construction makes the photographs possible in physical, political and intellectual terms,²⁷ and this is the primary narrative around which she considers their colonial dynamic. Similarly, I will set out a more detailed consideration of Antarctic exploration and of Ernest Joyce by way of background to thinking with his photographs.²⁸ For now, however, I will very briefly introduce the two, providing a basic frame of reference for the earlier part of the thesis, and pointing to some of the complexities and opportunities involved with centralising photographs in this context.

Early human presence in Antarctica arises from an exploration narrative very similar to that which sent Acland and his colleagues to the Pacific. However, it frustrates the smooth re-enactment of this tradition, most notably in the lack of a local human population around which to establish a tale of encounter, photographic or otherwise. As writers such as Francis Spufford and Stephen Pyne have argued, Antarctic exploration must be narrated reflexively.²⁹ Its chronological positioning in the first decades of the twentieth century means it also deploys new photographies, including the burgeoning and democratising snapshot milieu. Photographs, photograph making and photograph owning were no longer the rarefied preserve of captains and senior officers. Just as the collaborative performance of man-hauled Antarctic exploration required the suspension of at least some of the conventions of Victorian and Edwardian society, so photography as a thing done to and by all levels of the expeditions created a climate in which new relational attitudes and new expectations might arise.

²⁶ Ibid., 263.

²⁷ Ibid., 263-65, 72-73.

²⁸ See chapters five and six.

²⁹ Francis Spufford, *I May Be Some Time : Ice and the English Imagination* (London ; Boston: Faber, 1996)., Stephen J. Pyne, *The Ice : A Journey to Antarctica*, 1st ed. (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1986).

The activities of Antarctic exploration are many things, geo-political, imperial, colonialist, scientific, romantic, daring and perhaps even foolhardy, but they are also intensely photographic. There was no sustained human presence in Antarctica prior to its being photographed, an engagement that was timely both in shaping the performance and narratives of exploration, and in diversifying the enactment of photographic Antarticas.³⁰ The narrative of photography in heroic-era Antarctica is dominated by the period's two professional photographers, Herbert Ponting and Frank Hurley. But many other expedition and crew members also took cameras and made photographs, posed in front of lenses, and used darkrooms on ships and at expedition bases to produce photographs that aided in the construction of their reactions to the ice, the reconstructions of themselves in later lives, and their ongoing picturing for subsequent generations. Often this was the first time these men operated a camera, developed a negative or made a photographic print, linking Antarctica and photography not only in an originary picturing, but also in the assumption of photographic skills, which entered the lives of many of these men because of Antarctica. In this enactment of photography, snapshots mingle with the work of professionals in networks of photographic association, exchange and manufacture that extend well beyond the chronological boundaries of physical presence, and emphasise the power of photographic collectives that are material as well as pictorial.

Opinions vary on exactly which events should populate the amorphous but persistent construct of heroic-era Antarctica, but it is generally thought to begin with Robert Scott's British National Antarctic Expedition on board the *Discovery* (1901-1904) and to end with Ernest Shackleton's Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition on the *Endurance* and, in the Ross Sea, the *Aurora* (1914-1917).³¹ Certainly, the British-led

³⁰ The earliest photographs made there were produced in 1899 by a Belgian expedition on-board the *Belgica*.

³¹ Mike Pearson, for example, dates the era to the twenty years following the Sixth International Geographic Congress of 1895, involving parties from Belgium, Germany, Sweden, Scotland, France, Australia and England, Mike Pearson, "Professor Gregory's Villa and Piles of Pony Poop: Early Expeditionary Remains in Antarctica," in *Contemporary*

undertakings dominate this narrative and Ernest Joyce took part in three of these – *Discovery*, *Nimrod* (the British Antarctic Expedition, 1907-09), and the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition's Ross Sea Party. He joined the *Discovery* as a Royal Navy Rating and by the end of the Ross Sea Party had settled at the rank of Petty Officer. Joyce was very much a second tier participant in Antarctic exploration, his main activities revolving around sledging and depot laying in support of the higher profile undertakings. Little has been thought or written about his experiences outside of a perceived leadership wrangle which dominates the discussion of his final expedition.³²

During his time in Antarctica, and over the following two decades, Joyce accumulated a group of negatives and lantern slides about the expeditions, which was donated to Canterbury Museum several decades after his death. These 223 photographs are a key manifestation of Joyce's reaction to Antarctica but they have never been approached at the centre of thinking about this experience. They were not necessarily made by Joyce, pictorially or materially, but the group is shaped by his desires and his points of access. The photographs range from the well-known and professional to the very amateur and probably unique. Their depicted setting denies them many of the familiar markers of photographic identification, an opacity intensified by the passing of a century since their inception. They have very little associated textual information and provide a considerable challenge for anyone wanting to engage with them beyond

Archaeologies : Excavating Now, ed. Cornelius Holtorf, Angela Piccini, and English Heritage. (Frankfurt am Main ; New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 83. Francis Spufford, meanwhile, sticks firmly to the British expeditions of this period, Spufford, *I May Be Some Time : Ice and the English Imagination*, 2., while Stephen Pyne takes on all of the contributions noted by Pearson and adds Japan to the mix. Pyne, *The Ice : A Journey to Antarctica*, 87. Elizabeth Leane takes a similar chronological approach, adding the identifying characteristic that exploration in this period was done essentially on foot. Elizabeth Leane, "A Place of Ideals in Conflict: Images of Antarctica in Australian Literature," in *The Littoral Zone : Australian Contexts and Their Writers*, ed. C. A. Cranston and Robert Zeller, *Nature, Culture and Literature* ; 4 (Amsterdam ; New York, NY: Rodopi, 2007), 269.

³² See, for example, Richard McElrea and David L. Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton* (Christchurch, N.Z.: Canterbury University Press, 2004).

the surface interest of the picture. My objective is to find a means of activating Joyce's photographs as a central axis around which to consider his Antarctic exploration. Edwards' model of thinking with photographs encapsulates much of the approach I would like to take. However, I propose to push it further, with the aid of Burke's thinking and his pentad of dramatisitic analysis, to allow, in particular, the photographic collective and the photographic object to become prominent parts of that thinking.

Edwards' approach favours complexity and new thinking over resolution and answers. She stresses that her concern with spatialities is but one enactment of these photographs that may coexist with many others.³³ She and other writers use photographs to refresh disciplines such as geography, ethnography and history³⁴ but rather than pull photographs into the frame of an external discipline, like Geoffrey Batchen, I seek to return them to their own discourse,³⁵ and to consider how photographs cause people to think and act in wider webs of time, place and emotion. Within, around and outside of large-scale narratives like colonialism and exploration, human beings make, keep and use photographs, and I propose to engage with them in these beguilingly simple and surprising complex terms, as things done by people, at their inception and over time and culture.

1.4 The researcher

This investigation arises out of 15 years of working as curator of a large 'social history' photograph collection, and an increasing awareness of the richness of these objects, alongside a frustration with my own attempts to express and exploit this. This starting point necessarily informs my performance of the undertaking, triggered

³³ Edwards, "Negotiating Spaces: Some Photographic Incidents in the Western Pacific, 1883-84," 278.

³⁴ Ibid., 263.

³⁵ Geoffrey Batchen, "Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn," *Photographies* 1, no. 2 (2008).

by different points of access and a different attitudinal background to many researchers. My workday reality, for example, involves being surrounded by historical photographs. They are not the novelty that they might be for someone stepping in from another environment. For me the novelty lies in looking through and beyond these photographs to a wide-ranging academic conversation, but this looking is always coloured by an awareness of the need to find a way to restore the voices to the photographs or risk losing much of their instrumental value for future generations.

My curatorial role also allows me greater physical and intellectual access to the photographs than would be the case for an external researcher. I am able to walk to the store and interact with an object or scrutinise the collection database whenever I need to. For me these are familiar objects and my acquaintanceship with them, as with the whole notion of Antarctic exploration, is embedded and evolving. In my city and my role, understandings of Antarctic exploration are gleaned through networks of experience, kinship and anecdote more than distanced textual enquiry. Although I have no personal connections to its people or events, and have never been to Antarctica, my understanding of the heroic era is a lived one, accumulated by time and trust, much like the experience of genealogy that circulates around family photographs. In this way, my whole mode of approach is operationally photographic – fragmentary, personal, convention-driven, real and imagined. One expression of this vernacular familiarity is my reference to the expeditions by the name of their ships rather than their official titles. In order to keep the convention clear throughout the thesis, I have provided a table in Appendix A outlining both naming forms for the major expeditions discussed.

In terms of a disciplinary location, this piece of work samples and extends rather than settles. It draws on my own diverse background in languages, literary theory and criticism, art history, archaeology, museum studies and curatorial practice, but it also draws in elements of visual and material culture, cultural theory, communication and performance studies, and geography. Its primary focus is

theoretical and methodological, and in this way it points towards more recent constructs such as theoretical humanities. Its specific concern is the operation of photographs as sites of meaning and value, but in bringing together previously unaligned theorists into a new enactment of enquiry, it is hoped that it will also refresh general theoretical and methodological coordinates.

1.5 Overview

This thesis seeks to provide a means of centralising photographs in enquiry. In order to demonstrate the lack of a cohesively articulated and portable model for this purpose, it will trace the key lines in thinking about photography to date. It will propose that the work of Kenneth Burke, and specifically his pentad of dramatisic analysis, is able to draw these threads together and to refresh and frame the notion of thinking with photographs. The resulting model will be enacted and scrutinised using the Joyce collection of photographs relating to the early exploration of Antarctica, so that the thesis will also provide new insights into the operation of photographs at the margins of Antarctic exploration.

In order to understand the context in which Elizabeth Edwards thinks with photographs, Chapter two will trace the main threads in the evolution of thinking about photography, with a particular emphasis on developments since the 1980s, where there arises a concern to understand photographs as sites of communication, individually and collectively, and a particular interest in the photograph as a unique and enduring object. From this discussion will emerge the key elements of the thinking with photographs that I mean to enact. In order to test this form, Chapter three will look back to the work of two foundational writers on photography, Walter Benjamin and Roland Barthes. This discussion will consider the upheaval in perception argued by these writers contingent upon the widespread deployment of photographs in human interaction, centred on the photographic breach of the previously understood order of time. It will also consider in greater depth the dual

operation of the photograph in intellectual and emotional response, and propose Barthes' *punctum* as a means for selecting specific photographs for closer consideration alongside the operation of the group. In confirming the approach to thinking with photographs outlined in Chapter two, this discussion will also reflexively affirm the continuing relevance of Benjamin and Barthes in today's discourse.

Chapter four will introduce the work of Kenneth Burke, in particular his performative construction of rhetoric and his overarching concept of identification. It will also outline the operation of the pentad of dramatisic analysis as a means of harnessing complex networks of rhetorical action, and demonstrate how this may be applied to thinking with photographs. This application requires a careful consideration of Burke's construct of technology and the agency element of his pentad. It also creates the opportunity, I shall argue, to refresh his concept of the rhetorical scene, by allowing the photographic collective to become the metaphorical and material setting within which photographs circulate and generate meaning. The intersecting nature of the pentadic elements, and the ratios that emerge from them, will highlight the potential for this approach to capture the complexities of the photographic collective alongside the operation of individual photographs. The discussion will also emphasise the facilitating aspects of the pentad and its operation in generative thinking rather than as an answer-producing matrix.

A key component of Burke's analytical approach is acknowledging the role of the enquirer and the process of enquiry in shaping the outcome. To this end, he requires the establishment of a representative anecdote, or summary of the interpretive question, in advance of the pentadic investigation. Chapter four will also outline the representative anecdote for the current enquiry, which will act as a bridge between the two parts of the thesis – the theoretical and methodological discussion, and its application the Joyce collection. In addition it will set out the two pentads and the ratios I will use to think with the Joyce collection.

Both Edwards and Burke advocate the deployment of contextualising information. Burke, in particular, stresses this as a necessary part of self-aware enquiry. To this end, Chapter five will outline my consideration of the dominant constructions of heroic-era Antarctica, with particular reference to the place of photographs within them. It will demonstrate this thinking to be primarily focussed on Ponting and Hurley and to be almost exclusively picture-oriented. It will also highlight recent thinking about the performative aspects of Antarctic exploration, by writers such as Spufford, Pyne and John Wylie, and the human, natural, technological and intellectual networks which inform this engagement. It will consider how this work has been taken up by Kathryn Yusoff in thinking about heroic-era photography,³⁶ and will outline Elena Glasberg's proposition that heroic-era photographs may operate as sites for thinking sensibilities not necessarily consciously inherent at their inception.³⁷ My discussion will conclude, however, that there is still some distance to travel in order to engage with heroic-era photographs in the fullest sense, and will propose the pentad-based methodology as a means to further this conversation.

Chapter six will focus the context building by considering constructions of Ernest Joyce and his Antarctic experience. It will draw primarily on the accounts published by expedition leaders and more recent writers such as A G E Jones, McElrea and Harrowfield, and Kelly Tyler-Lewis.³⁸ In addition it will use Joyce's published Ross Sea Party log³⁹ and his fragmentary writings in the Alexander Turnbull Library,⁴⁰ to gain a sense of his own desires for his self image. This discussion does not seek to

³⁶ Kathryn Yusoff, "Configuring the Field: Photography in Early Twentieth-Century Antarctic Exploration," in *New Spaces of Exploration : Geographies of Discovery in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Simon Naylor and James R. Ryan (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010).

³⁷ Elena Glasberg, "Camera Artists in Antarctica," *Photomedia: New Zealand Journal of Photography* 65 (2007).

³⁸ A G E Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," *The Journal of Polar Studies* 1, no. 2 (1984)., Kelly Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party* (New York: Viking, 2006).

³⁹ Ernest E Mills Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition* (London: Duckworth, 1929).

provide a definitive Joyce biography. Rather it engages with the ideas and imaginings that circulate about him and give rise, I shall argue, to an ongoing sense of restlessness that is attitudinal as well as locational, and both personal to Joyce and symptomatic of his time.

In Chapter seven I will use the pentad to think with the Joyce collection. This will involve a consideration of the interstices of the photographic collective using the scene-act ratio, and a close consideration of the photographic object using the pentad's agency element. In addition I will use the pentadic act-agent ratio to consider closely several individual photographs from the collection, selected using the spirit of Barthes' *punctum*. This discussion will traverse elements of picture content, object manufacture and modification, external and internal association, and physical interaction, to produce a web of intersections, patterns and omissions which speak of Joyce's aspirations and imaginings and of the impact of Antarctica on his understanding of self and the shape of his later life. It will also refer forward to consider how Joyce's photographs continue to register his place in Antarctic exploration, and in the wider world, to this day.

In Chapter eight I will review the work undertaken, returning to the question of thinking with photographs and considering how the pentad has contributed to harnessing this challenge in a portable and accessible manner. I will also outline some of the difficulties that persist in the construction, and consider the implications of this photographic thinking for future conceptions of marginalities, photographic and otherwise. In addition I will consider the specific implications of the approach for renewed understandings of Antarctic exploration, and will provide some thoughts on future developments of the model.

To leave millions of photographs mouldering at an impasse of pictorial anonymity or narrative obscurity is to disregard the materially enacted hopes and dreams of all those

⁴⁰ Various, "Ernest Edward Mills Joyce Papers," (Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library).

people who made and valued them. It is hoped that the current exercise will contribute to the reanimation of these boring but special objects,⁴¹ and return their makers, owners and keepers to the intergenerational conversation of human experience.

⁴¹ To paraphrase Geoffrey Batchen, Batchen, "Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn," 133.

2 An unauthorised genealogy of thinking with photographs

Photography stepped onto the stage in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, entering a world where industrialisation, mechanisation, classification and empiricism were the driving forces. It fixed ‘permanently’ the kinds of plausibly literal images that had previously only existed in fleeting reflections. It was a product of scientific experimentation that produced a flat, typically rectangular, picture which was immediately aligned and contrasted with similar objects in the visual arts.

But photography was something new. It resisted classification by existing terminologies and, alongside its march towards visual ubiquity and material invisibility, a number of theorists have sought to locate just what photography constitutes as an expressive medium, a social practice and a “consciousness”⁴². Their work has taken shape in a range of fields, including art history and criticism, literary theory, sociology, anthropology, visual culture and historical geography. At a broad level, the search for a theory of photography reflects the changing conceptual foci of the generations through which it has endured. It began as a functional and technical consideration, moved to one which dealt primarily with the aesthetic, and then was taken up as a means to explore issues of communication, social construction and identity.

The work of two writers has been instrumental in seeding this debate. While they have passed through periods of centrality and marginalisation, Walter Benjamin and Roland Barthes triggered many of the issues which vex the minds of photograph

⁴² Geoffrey Batchen, "Camera Lucida: Another Little History of Photography," in *The Meaning of Photography*, ed. Robin Earle Kelsey and Blake Stimson (Williamstown, Mass., New Haven: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute ; Yale University Press, 2008).

theorists to this day. Before progressing in Chapter three to a more detailed discussion of their work, I propose here to consider how wider thinking about photography has given way to the challenge of thinking with photographs, and to outline the shape that a methodology for this purpose might take.

2.1 *The new light: photography as tool and witness*

The earliest writing on photography promotes it primarily as a technological and scientific advance. As Anne McCauley has commented,

...[T]he medium of photography ... was invented not primarily as an object of distanced contemplation, but as a superior way of recording the real world for an array of astronomers, archaeologists, botanists, and artists.⁴³

The first commercially successful photographic form, the daguerreotype, was announced to the French Chamber of Deputies in 1839 by physicist Francois Arago, its value stressed in three of the activities very much occupying the minds of nineteenth century Europe's social elite.

In fact to the traveller, to the archaiologist and also to the naturalist, the apparatus of M. Daguerre will become an object of continual and indispensable use. It will enable them to note what they see, without having recourse to the hand of another. Every author will in future be able to compose the geographic part of his own work; by stopping awhile before the most complicated monument, or the most extensive *coup-oeil*, he will immediately obtain an exact *fac simile* of them.⁴⁴

Photography was offered as an operationally and motivationally transparent means of producing an authentic representation of places and things encountered. Arago does not dwell on aesthetics or image composition, but he does consistently refer to the objects produced as "drawings",⁴⁵ reserving an association with the visual tradition despite his focus on utility and commercial potential.

⁴³ Anne McCauley, "Guest Editorial," *History of photography* 21, no. 2 (1997): 85.

⁴⁴ Louis Jacques Mand e Daguerre, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Various Processes of the Daguerreotype and the Diorama* (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1969), 1.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, e.g. 63.

In England, William Henry Fox Talbot perfected another photographic process at around the same time, which he referred to as "...the English art (called PHOTOGENIC DRAWING, or the CALOTYPE)..."⁴⁶ and publicised in *The Pencil of Nature* in 1844. The most striking difference in Talbot's work is his emphasis on the potential of photography as an art form, albeit one born of science. Photographs

.. are impressed by Nature's hand; and what they want as yet of delicacy and finish of execution arises chiefly from our want of sufficient knowledge of her laws.⁴⁷

They constitute "...an Art of ... great singularity, which employs processes ... entirely new, and having no analogy to anything before."⁴⁸ Talbot introduces the notion that photographs might require a new mode of interaction and understanding, but his discussion retreats to the safety of the existing disciplines of "science" and "Art".

He writes for an audience of his peers, genteel amateurs, and the calotypes presented in *The Pencil of Nature* are accompanied by descriptive notes and hints for the would-be practitioner.⁴⁹ Considerable space is given to suggesting and describing suitable subjects for the calotype artist, including antique architecture, paintings and sculpture. Scientific considerations and the potential for the photograph to expand the optical powers of the human eye are also addressed. "...[T]he eye of the camera [can] see plainly where the human eye would find nothing but darkness..."⁵⁰ and capture "...a multitude of minute details which add to the truth and reality of the representation, but which no artist would take the trouble to copy faithfully from nature."⁵¹ Indeed, photography fundamentally upends the notion of authorial control. "It frequently happens ... – and this is one of the charms of photography – that the operator himself discovers on examination, perhaps long afterwards, that he has depicted many things

⁴⁶ William Henry Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature* (New York: De Capo Press, 1969), Part 1, unpaginated.

⁴⁷ Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature*. 'Invention of the Art' (unpaginated)

⁴⁸ Ibid. 'Invention of the Art' (unpaginated)

⁴⁹ Ibid. see, for example, notes accompanying plate V, 'Bust of Patroclus' (unpaginated)

⁵⁰ Ibid. notes accompanying plate VIII, 'A Scene in a Library' (unpaginated)

⁵¹ Ibid. notes accompanying plate X, 'The Haystack' (unpaginated)

he had no notion of at the time.”⁵² Already, a crack has appeared in the veneer of photography’s impartiality, the notion of what constitutes visual reality is challenged, and the photographer’s ability to control the meanings that can be taken from his or her output is, quite happily, set aside.

In the late 1850s, American poet Oliver Wendell Holmes provided one of the first considerations of the social operation of the photographic picture. He focussed particularly on photography’s commemorative capabilities, coining the description of the photograph as “...the mirror with a memory...”.⁵³ Holmes describes a photograph of a doorway through which William Shakespeare has passed and suggests, “It is not impossible that scales from the epidermis of [his] trembling hand ... are still adherent about the old latch and door, and that they contribute to the stains we see in our picture.”⁵⁴ Photographs are more than a conceptual or visual link with the past. They also bear a physical and chemical connection to that which they depict, realised through the agency of light, and they carry this trace into a future which becomes increasingly inexact, anonymous and open to revision as the human memories that accompany their creation fade from existence.

Pondering photography’s future, Holmes considers that its reproducibility will lead to a whole new conception of ownership and experience.

Matter in large masses must always be fixed and dear; form is cheap and transportable. We have got the fruit of creation now, and need not trouble ourselves with the core. Every conceivable object of Nature and Art will soon scale off its surface for us. Men will hunt all curious, beautiful, grand objects, as they hunt cattle in South America, for their *skins* and leave the carcasses of little worth.⁵⁵

⁵² Ibid. notes accompanying plate XIII, ‘Queen’s College, Oxford. Entrance Gateway’ (unpaginated)

⁵³ Oliver Wendell Holmes, *The Stereoscope and the Stereograph* [Web site] (1859 [cited 2 August 2005 2005]); available from <http://www.stereoscopy.com/library/holmes-stereoscope-stereograph.html>.

⁵⁴ Ibid. (cited).

⁵⁵ Ibid. (cited).

For Holmes, photography achieved the "... greatest of human triumphs over earthly conditions, the divorce of form and substance."⁵⁶ Certainly, photographs commonly pre-date, substitute for, or recall physical encounter with places, people and objects, and photographic impressions become the touchstones by which direct experience is measured or excused. However, the separation of form from substance could not be achieved so easily and, as the experiential value of the reproduced has thinned over the intervening decades, so the material individuality of the photographic object has reasserted its substance. This is a key issue raised by Benjamin's consideration of photography, and will be taken up in more detail in the next chapter.

2.2 *The new art: photography enters the art establishment*

During the twentieth century writing about photography passed broadly through two phases. The first was concerned with establishing photography's credentials as an art form and the second centred around its operation as a human construct involved in the negotiation of meaning.

Probably the single most influential event in shaping photography as art for Western audiences was Beaumont Newhall's 1937 survey exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, *Photography, 1839-1937*, and his accompanying catalogue, later republished as *The history of photography*.⁵⁷ Allison Bertrand has argued that Newhall's evaluation of the photographic medium and his nomination of its 'masters' established a canon for the English-speaking world, which every subsequent historian had to assimilate or challenge.⁵⁸ This exhibition introduced photography to the art establishment and Newhall's modernist art historical framework came to dominate thinking about photography for several decades.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Ibid.(cited).

⁵⁷ Newhall, *The History of Photography*.

⁵⁸ Allison Bertrand, "Beaumont Newhall 'Photography 1839-1937' Making History," *History of photography* 21, no. 2 (1997): 137.

As Martin Gasser has noted, however, Newhall presents "...a curious mix between arguments for a new and independent medium of expression and arguments for legitimizing photography as an art form with an existing tradition."⁶⁰ While this vacillation extends back to the earliest writing on photography, it is tempered here by Newhall's need to ensure photography's acceptance within the then-current art value system, resulting in a photographer-centred construction which Newhall called Straight Photography and exemplified in the work of Alfred Stieglitz. Straight Photography can be viewed against the wider tenets of the modernist movement of the first half of the twentieth century, which Ian Jeffrey argues sought to bridge the gap between appearance and idea, and to give priority to idea.⁶¹

Modernism's tone was urgent and apocalyptic, committed to an idea of action to be carried out in the light of a supposed, if largely unspecified, destination.⁶²

In this view every act is part of an historical whole, perceived as progressive and necessary, and every photograph can be understood as a fragment which in some way refers to that continuum.

By bringing various kinds of photographs into the Museum of Modern Art, and presenting and interpreting them within this paradigm, Newhall brought to bear a set of values quite different to those in which many of them were produced and previously used. The photographs were positioned primarily as aesthetic objects, suspended in frames on the white walls of a gallery, rather than encountered in albums or newspapers, or on the mantelpieces of middle-class homes. As photography's place in the art infrastructure became secure, theoretical discussion revolved around issues raised in that context. Questions of functionality were sidelined, as were the majority of photographs.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Gasser, "Histories of Photography 1839-1939," 57.

⁶¹ Ian Jeffrey, "Fragment and Totality in Photography," *History of photography* 16, no. 4 (1992): 353.

⁶² Ibid.: 356.

2.3 *Speaking photographs: photography and communication*

In the 1960s and 70s photography entered the teaching programmes of a number of universities⁶³ and things became more complicated. Here photography came into contact with a generation which took increasing account of sociological and cultural issues and stretched the discussion of photographs far beyond technical or aesthetic considerations. While the action of light and the articulation of form had occupied previous generations, the photographic communication of ideas became particularly important for these thinkers about photography, who would lay the groundwork for thinking with photographs.

Photographs express certain ways of understanding the world. They are rhetorical. In 1982 Victor Burgin postulated a nascent photography theory that would “... understand photography not only as a practice in its own right, but also in relation to society as a whole.”⁶⁴ Burgin is a photographer, with an academic background in art history and art theory but, while this paradigm flavours his discussion, he saw the then-current photographic art criticism as overly concerned with producing and protecting the ideological framework which supported its existence. Assumptions had been projected into the past and reflected back to become the facts of history.⁶⁵

For him, sociology was a vital but misunderstood component of photographic meaning and in sociological practice, he believed, photographs could be more than evidentiary tools. In order to exploit this potential, photography theory had to “... take into account the determinations exerted by the means of representation upon that which is represented.”⁶⁶ The existence, limitations and operation of photography, both performative and technical, will influence the meanings it generates in Burgin’s Marxist-influenced approach, as, importantly, will the contribution of the viewer.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 4.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 3-4.

⁶⁶ Victor Burgin, *Looking at Photographs*, 2.

Whatever meanings and attributions we may construct at its instigation can know no final closure, they cannot be held for long upon those imaginary points of convergence at which (it may comfort some to imagine) are situated the experience of an author or the truth of a reality.⁶⁷

While it is true that production and reception are vital points in configuring meaning, photographs seldom travel from staging to viewing in a vacuum, and to the voices of makers and receivers must be added the interventions of presenters, collectors, researchers, printers and all those who have taken a hand in bringing a certain photograph to a certain time and place. Photographic meaning is collectively generated and evolving. It is a discussion rather than an answer, within which a number of voices vie to be heard. Context, presenter, viewer and the complex detail of photographic content all interact with any intent overt at the point of creation.

The Museum of Modern Art exercise demonstrates the operation of the context of encounter (physical and temporal) in this interaction, also highlighting the constructive influence of a collecting or exhibiting repository. Susan Sontag has commented,

... in most uses of the camera, the photograph's naive or descriptive function is paramount. But when viewed in their new context, the museum or gallery, photos cease to be "about" their subjects in the same direct or primitive way; they become studies in the possibilities of photography.⁶⁸

For her, transfer to a public collection introduces a layer of connoisseurship that is first and foremost about the medium. Across the spectrum of possible collecting repositories, however, there is considerable variation in the application of this standard. In an art-focussed collection, mediary and formal considerations may be paramount, but in a social historical or subject-specific collection, content or association may be a stronger driver, and this is definitely the case for the Joyce collection at Canterbury Museum. The shift in emphasis does not remove the connoisseurial implication of the public collection, but broadens the range of values it might be expected to enact. Certainly, an interaction with a photograph in a museum

⁶⁷ Ibid., 11.

⁶⁸ Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 1977), 133.

collection will typically involve a range of permissions, restrictions and tactile considerations that mark it off from photographs encountered in everyday life well before the content of the image or the actions of its makers are addressed. It will also carry a set of expectations about the quality and poignancy of the encounter.

Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart have also considered "... the often tense atmosphere of a curatorial dynamic that attempts to hold an uneasy sway of order over the chaos of things and their associated bodies of knowledge...",⁶⁹ pointing to the sometimes tenuous and always partial operation of curatorial practice. Like any other process, museological priorities are prone to reconfiguration, and these are registered in physical traces on the objects they tackle in the form of inscriptions, enclosures, adjacencies and attachments, pointing to the generative importance of both object and context of encounter.

Another voice that must be heard lies with the people, objects and places before the camera. Mary Warner Marien considers the particular myth of the 'unposed' photograph and the desire to accept uncritically what it presents as an unmediated truth.⁷⁰ Of course, many decisions and opportunistic considerations pre-date every photographic act and all deportment in front of a camera is more or less directed and conventionalised. Thinking with photographs must look beyond the naturalised veneer of the picture analogue to interrogate the attitudes expressed and engendered around it.

Although the range of targets potentially available to the camera is vast, photographic pictures tend to be formulaic, repeatedly rehearsing favoured plots. One such visual

⁶⁹ Elizabeth and Janice Hart Edwards, "Mixed Box: The Cultural Biography of a Box of 'Ethnographic' Photographs," in *Photographs Objects Histories : On the Materiality of Images*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, *Material Cultures* (London: Routledge, 2004), 48.

⁷⁰ Mary Warner Marien, *Photography : A Cultural History* (London: Laurence King, 2002), 237.

trope revolves around the relationship between people and place. Photographs frame, sample and define surroundings. In Susan Sontag's words they

... help people to take possession of space in which they are insecure.

Photographs will offer indisputable evidence that the trip was made, that the project was carried out, that fun was had.

A way of certifying experience, taking photographs is also a way of refusing it – by limiting experience to a search for the photogenic, by converting experience into an image, a souvenir. Travel becomes a strategy for accumulating photographs.⁷¹

And so the world becomes a potential photograph, and this photographic potential drives human behaviour, including the performance of exploration in unfamiliar and unphotographed territories such as heroic-era Antarctica.

Photographs delimit boundaries. They declare presence, which may also imply ownership and prohibition. They may track human advances on domestic or grander scales or, as Joan Schwartz has commented, they may present themselves as an attempt to preserve a place from apparently inevitable alteration by human intervention, be it destruction or restoration.⁷² In an ideology that endorses narratives of exploration and colonialism, photographs, on the surface at least, may serve a normative rhetorical function, establishing and re-enacting iconographies of adventure and the assimilation or exclusion of the exotic, while also offering vicarious participation in the values and events they encapsulate.

Indeed, the photograph as generator and reinforcer of mental and literal images may become more important than the place itself in determining the nature of its perception. Schwartz and James Ryan point out that an unencountered place or person is often grounded perceptually in its photograph and visits become acts of

⁷¹ Sontag, *On Photography*, 9.

⁷² Joan M. Schwartz, "The Geography Lesson: Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies," *Journal of Historical Geography* 22, no. 1 (1996): 22.

reference against this form.⁷³ Similarly, photographic constructions of previously unphotographed places may be expected to involve the import of representational tropes from depictions of other places or other modes of expression. However, as with all things portrayed in photographs, these representations are but an appeal to recognition and different eyes, different times, different capabilities and different techniques will produce widely varying imaginative geographies.⁷⁴ The photographs taken in the early years of human presence in Antarctica, the first ever photographs taken in those places, established a visual iconography that has endured through the attitudinal revisions of several lifetimes.

2.4 *Means of address: codes, signs and languages*

And so an important shift had occurred in the construction of the photograph, away from Newhall's notion of an authorially controlled and reflexive entity, to a socially-embedded phenomenon best considered in relation to things outside of itself. Alongside this shift there arose the question of how to name and engage with the communicative and imaginative operation of the photograph, or at least with its picture content.

Victor Burgin, for example, argued,

... the naturalness of the world ostensibly open before the camera is a deceit. Objects present to the camera are *already in use* in the production of meanings, and photography has no choice but to operate upon such meanings. There is, then, a 'pre-photographic' stage in the photographic production of meaning which must be accounted for.⁷⁵

A post-photographic stage might also be added, involving the decisions to keep, arrange and show certain photographs in certain ways, times and places. Photographs present as objects as well as representing what they picture. However, Burgin's

⁷³ Ibid.: 30-33.

⁷⁴ Edwards, "Negotiating Spaces: Some Photographic Incidents in the Western Pacific, 1883-84," 16.

⁷⁵ Victor Burgin, "Photographic Practice and Art Theory," in *Thinking Photography*, ed. Victor Burgin, *Communications and Culture* (London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1982), 47.

argument is limited to objects in use within the picture, falling short of the opportunity to consider the operation of the photograph itself.

He is interested in the ways in which photographs open up for scrutiny

... our common knowledge of the typical representation of prevailing social facts and values; that is to say, ... our knowledge of the way objects transmit and transform ideology, and the ways in which photographs in their turn transform these.⁷⁶

Burgin's thinking is informed by semiotics, part of the structuralist strategy of forming descriptions of social phenomena according to linguistic models.⁷⁷ Early semiotics sought a visual lexicon, codifying the operation of images in a similar way to the dictionary definition of a language. Roland Barthes was one of the key contributors to this strategy and during this period it becomes common to speak of photographic texts and visual grammars, as writers sought to define a photographic language in line with the borrowed model. However, Burgin is quick to point out that the early structuralist assumption of a coded message, and authors and readers who know how to encode and decode the message while somehow remaining outside of the codes, was somewhat crude. Languages are not passive or impartial tools, and as much as we speak a language, so that language also speaks us.⁷⁸ Likewise, as much as we resolve to make and use photographs, so their very existence drives our decisions to make, remake and present them.

The semiotic exercise fell short of the expectations of most of its proponents, including Barthes. As Sontag has commented, there is a fundamental difference in the ways photographs and words operate.

...[P]hotography is intimately connected with discontinuous ways of seeing (the point is precisely to see the whole by means of a part – an arresting detail, or a striking way of cropping)....⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Ibid., 41.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 48.

⁷⁸ Victor Burgin, "Looking at Photographs," in *Thinking Photography*, ed. Victor Burgin, *Communications and Culture* (London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1982), 144.

⁷⁹ Sontag, *On Photography*, 168.

Languages consist of kernels of communication that feed into a lexical whole, but photographs are synecdochic fragments. Also, languages are inherently abstract while photographs imply a direct physicality. Like Holmes, Abigail Solomon-Godeau has argued,

Insofar as the photographic picture is the trace of a once-present person or object, the spectator is inevitably situated in a certain - however ambiguous - relation to the real.⁸⁰

In addition to what stood before the camera, the photograph also bears physical traces of past owners and others who have interacted with it, perhaps in the form of fingerprints, tears or creases. The physicality of both image and object must be part of photograph-centred thinking, but semiotics concerned itself solely with the already questionable operation of picture content.

In addition to the linguistic interpretive models and the vocabularies that have been stretched in their direction, photographs also have an enduring relationship with words through associated captions and inscriptions, image content and surrounding conversations. Photographs may function as reference points for oral traditions. They are commonly described verbally, becoming the triggers around which intergenerational narratives are constructed and transmitted.⁸¹ However, over time, their subjects may become obscure and unidentifiable and, as Geoffrey Batchen has asked,

... [W]hat is a snapshot when it has been rendered mute? What do they have to say ... when all this animating chatter has died down and we are left only with its husk, with just the prompt itself? What else do snapshots have to tell us, beyond the sad fact of their own death as personally meaningful artifacts?⁸²

⁸⁰ Abigail Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock : Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices, Media & Society* ; 4. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 233.

⁸¹ For a discussion of photograph albums and oral history, see Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations : The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal ; London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

⁸² Batchen, "Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn," 135.

These questions are particularly acute when such photographs appear in public collections where, without even the emotional hook of a family connection, there is a need for some means of address that will rekindle the voices around them, and return these objects to the play of human experience.

Of course, even a firm descriptive caption is open to destabilisation. As Sontag has noted,

... an entirely accurate caption is only one interpretation, necessarily a limiting one, of the photograph to which it is attached. And the caption glove slips on and off so easily. It cannot prevent any argument or moral plea which a photograph (or set of photographs) is intended to support from being undermined by the plurality of meanings that every photograph carries....⁸³

In a simplistic sense, photographs may set up a series of value signposts which will be recognised and endorsed by an intended and appropriately literate audience, but they may also stray into other areas where these ideological representations might be held up for scrutiny, particularly as they endure to the point of personal anachronism. Like the identity of photographer and content, a caption is just one of many voices that inform thinking with photographs. It is not the outcome of this process.

Photographs are often personal pictures and things, circulating in close groups of kinship and other association. However, as the relationship between photography and place demonstrates, photographs may operate rhetorically on a large scale, participating in political and other power relationships. The naturalising power of the photograph as analogue and persuasive ideal has been mobilised, overtly and subtly, by countless human interests. Schwartz and Ryan argue, for example, that

... the taking and viewing of photographs was an integral, active and influential part of engagements with material reality, helping to construct imaginative geographies, shape collective memory, define, cultural difference and sustain power relations based on gender, race, class and colonialism.⁸⁴

⁸³ Sontag, *On Photography*, 109.

⁸⁴ Edwards, "Negotiating Spaces: Some Photographic Incidents in the Western Pacific, 1883-84," 18.

Photographs, then, may have a lot to answer for or, at least, a lot to tell us about the values and aspirations we exchange.

Abigail Solomon-Godeau draws attention to "... the power of mechanically or electronically created images to render ideology innocent, to naturalize domination, to displace history and memory."⁸⁵ Within her postmodern framework, she advocates a specifically feminist paradigm for viewing photographs since

...the imperatives of a feminist analysis compel consideration of photographic practices in *all* their manifestations, effecting a necessary breakdown of the modernist boundary lines that have for so long hamstrung photographic debate.⁸⁶

These boundaries include the distinctions between high art and mass culture, admitting the previously excluded photographic majority to the discussion, and emphasising that these apparently more innocent photographic acts are always partial. She also begins to suggest some elements of a photo-centred methodology.

In seeking ... to analyze the ways in which photographs produce their meanings, it is necessary to pay close attention to the syntax, the rhetoric, the formal strategies by which their meanings are constructed and communicated.⁸⁷

Clearly influenced by the linguistic models discussed above, this remains, in essence, a generalised call to look carefully at the pictures and consider how their elements interact and interrelate. It does not provide a way of dealing with photographs as complex collective objects and it does not take account partiality of the viewer, although a feminist world view will presumably permeate the meanings Solomon-Godeau might find. This approach is definitely part of the process of considering photographs as sites of meaning, but it is also embedded in intellectual and critical traditions involving the supremacy of visual impressions and the omniscience of the interpreter.

⁸⁵ Solomon-Godeau, *Photography at the Dock : Essays on Photographic History, Institutions, and Practices*, xxiii-xxxiv.

⁸⁶ Ibid., xxx.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 225.

For Christopher Pinney, colonial practices implied and strove to be guaranteed by a photographic surface that was invisible, and asserting the opacity of the surface is a refusal of this vision of cultural singularity.⁸⁸ Recapturing the photograph as object reactivates, or freshly activates, its political potential. Pinney also cautions, however, that, “[t]he concern with the political consequences of photography has effectively erased any engagement with its actual practice ...”,⁸⁹ reminding us of the danger of excessive concern with the externalised operation of the pictorial output of photography at the expense of its personal and vernacular implications. He quotes Olu Oguibe’s assertion that “...the image in question is not the figure before the lens but that which emerges after the photographic moment.”⁹⁰

2.5 Vernaculars and objects: returning the material and the unique to the picture

Recent writers have come to speak in terms of many photographies, rather than a singular tradition, and have been interested, particularly, in those photographic forms which were marginalised in the earlier paradigms. It is here, subtly and in a discontinuous way, I believe, that thinking with photographs begins to replace thinking about photography. Ian Jeffrey, for example, theorises a

... steady state in photography disrupted, during the nineteenth century, by new formats suddenly and unexpectedly introduced and, during the twentieth, by startling and outlandish subject matter of the kind generated by war and technology.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Christopher Pinney, "Notes from the Surface of the Image: Photography, Postcolonialism, and Vernacular Modernism," in *Photography's Other Histories*, ed. Christopher Pinney and Nicolas Peterson, *Objects/Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 203.

⁸⁹ Behrend Heike, "Imagined Journeys : The Likoni Ferry Photographers of Mombasa Kenya," in *Objects/Histories*, ed. Christopher Pinney and Nicolas Peterson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 14.

⁹⁰ Olu Oguibe quoted in Pinney, "Notes from the Surface of the Image: Photography, Postcolonialism, and Vernacular Modernism," 219.

⁹¹ Ian Jeffrey and National Museum of Photography Film and Television (Great Britain), *Revisions : An Alternative History of Photography* (Bradford: National Museum of Photography Film & Television, 1999), 8.

The photographs returning from heroic-era Antarctica surely fit with this construction of the power of novel subject matter. Among the high points Jeffrey lists are stereo cards, celestial photography, the X-Ray and the electronic transmission of photographic images, as well as the snapshot, resulting from George Eastman's release of Kodak hand-held amateur cameras in 1888-89, and taken up in, among many other places, heroic-era Antarctica. Easy to use, cheap and eliminating the need for the operator to process his or her own negatives and prints, these cameras opened photography to a vast new market. The snapshot emphasised the ability to capture an event on the spot, without the need for the careful, static poses required by the long exposure times of earlier processes. Several decades of studio and scenic photography inevitably influenced the compositional aspirations of snapshot photographers but Jeffrey asserts that "...instantaneous photography was as disquieting aesthetically as any other development, including Fox Talbot's calotypes."⁹² He does not, however, suggest a means by which the importance of these photographs might be harnessed or interrogated.

The term snapshot has become a catch-all for a variety of formats, shapes and styles of photograph which share in common their having been taken by someone usually without significant training in photographic techniques or a detailed understanding of its chemical or optical nature, usually on a basic camera, and centred around the recording of personally noteworthy events, people and places. For Geoffrey Batchen, snapshot making shows

... the struggles of particular individuals to conform to the social expectations, and visual tropes, of their sex and class ... everyone simultaneously wants to look like themselves and like everyone else – to be the same but (ever so slightly) different.⁹³

The phenomenon now boasts over 100 years of its own conventions and fads. It may have arrived with a flash, but the snapshot is now very much part of the photographic tradition.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Batchen, "Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn," 133.

Batchen enlists the opening sentence of Roland Barthes' *Camera Lucida*, "How can photography be restored to its own history?", to frame an investigation of the masses of ordinary photographs that have been "...largely ignored by the critical gaze of respectable history."⁹⁴ These 'vernacular' photographs

... are photography's *parergon*, the part of its history that has been pushed to the margins (or beyond them to oblivion) precisely in order to delimit what is and is not proper to this history's enterprise.⁹⁵

To understand photography and its history, Batchen believes it is necessary to attend closely to what that history has chosen to repress.⁹⁶ He suggests upending photographic thinking to make vernaculars the "...organizing principle of photography's history in general...", since they account for the vast majority of photographs that have been made.⁹⁷ Certainly, these "... dull pictures that we can't live without..."⁹⁸ are the photographs most frequently encountered. They also populate museum collections in increasing numbers where they present a considerable interpretive challenge for those who wish to engage with the stories they anchor.

The invisibility of the photographic object is complicit in the marginalisation of snapshot and other vernacular photographs and, as Pinney suggests, its reassertion provides an important means of addressing the naturalised values these photographs encompass.

All of us tend to look at photographs as if we are simply gazing through a two-dimensional window onto some outside world. This is almost a perceptual necessity; in order to see what the photograph is of, we must first repress our consciousness of what the photograph is.⁹⁹

However, as we have come to differentiate a photograph made by the hand of a respected photographer from a copy made later by a collecting institution, or as a

⁹⁴ Geoffrey Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies," *History of photography* 24, no. 3 (2000): 262.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.: 263.

⁹⁷ Ibid.: 262.

⁹⁸ Batchen, "Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn," 133.

⁹⁹ Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies," 263.

snapshot album put together by a young soldier wounded in battle takes on a poignancy greater than the sum of the images it contains, the reproducible photograph re-enters the realm of the unique. Like picture content, this realm is driven by networks of identification and finds institutionalised expression in museums. An object owned or made by a particular person, or present at a particular event, comes to connote that person or experience in a conceptual and also physical way. In the presence of that object (and picture), we may consider ourselves almost to be in the presence of that person or almost to be taking part in that event, once again demonstrating a set of values that adheres to the Joyce collection photographs and reaches well beyond the pictorial.

Conventional chemical photographs are constituted of various support materials, commonly paper, glass or plastic, behind one of several chromatically and sometimes texturally distinct emulsion layers, all of which connote times, places and modes of operation. They are inscribed, torn, creased, cracked, overpainted, faded or good as new. They are framed, pasted in an album or curled around each other in a box, and each of these attributes speaks of their trajectories through time, place and association. For Batchen it is "...this combination of the haptic and the visual ... that makes photography so compelling ...",¹⁰⁰ and requires that photographs be spoken to, rather than about.¹⁰¹

Batchen also asserts that vernacular photographs are primarily about enacting cultural rituals. "...[M]aking, commissioning, and/or witnessing these objects are all, at least in part, acts of social placement and integration."¹⁰² The content of the photograph diminishes in importance in relation to the activities that surround it, the majority of which take place after the moment of picturing has passed, and the encounter is enmeshed with a weighing of the viewer's self against image content and object association.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Batchen, "Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn," 127.

It is the need to provide witness to this existence – to declare “I was here!” in visual terms – that surely drives us to keep on photographing, rather than the intrinsic qualities of the picture that results.¹⁰³

Photography is a conceptual, ideological and performative expression from which to begin thinking and acting again.¹⁰⁴ Photographs are taken-for-granted realities, unexceptional events and objects that occur on predictable occasions and in predictable ways. But their existence also shapes human behaviour and thinking. Events, people and places are worth photographing because they are worth remembering, and they are remembered because they are photographed.

Photographs are also objects of exchange and groupings of photographs may result from a complex network of transactions, manifesting an identification that is personal as well as pictorial. Photographic exchanges might range from swapping photographs among a group present at a particular event or journey (possibly motivated by the desire for a photograph of oneself, sometimes the most difficult image for a snapshot photographer to acquire), to the purchase of an artistically or historically valuable photograph by a collector, to the bequest of an individual's photographs to a public collection at the time of his or her death. All of these exchanges are present in the assembly of the Joyce collection, commodifying object, image and owner and contributing to the associative value of all three. This collectivity of possession also emphasises the potential for photographs to persist beyond individual intent and to be re-evaluated in new ownership scenarios.

Photographic reproducibility adds a further layer of complexity to this process since the ‘same’ photograph may be copied or reprinted in different times, contexts or formats over many years, and subtle or persuasive changes in content and inference may accompany the journeys of each of the resulting objects. As Batchen has argued, photographs “... exist only in a state of continual fabrication, constantly being made

¹⁰² Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies," 268.

¹⁰³ Batchen, "Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn," 135.

and remade within the twists and turns of their own unruly passage through space and time...".¹⁰⁵ In this process, they also render identity "... dynamic and collective, ... a continual process of becoming."¹⁰⁶ To interact with a photograph is to participate in a process in which human being and object are continually rewritten.

Photograph albums provide a relatively contained, selective and orderly means of presenting and addressing vernacular photographs. The hand of the maker is aware of the hand and eye of the viewer.¹⁰⁷ The time and space taken by the viewer to stop, sit and study, or at least glance through, an album is a recognition of the maker's work, an activity which compels and completes the album process. However, snapshots are commonly encountered in other forms – loose prints in a shoebox at the back of a cupboard, negatives in envelope, or slides in a plastic container. These elusive fragments of the photographic mass require a means of address that can cope with the detritus of detail and the at least partial anonymity that they inevitably entail.

This address will involve a physical interaction often more difficult than comfortably leafing through an album, and probably less about connecting the dots of some notional narrative than about chasing flashes of connection in an overcrowded and noisy network of visual and tactile prompts. The relationship of an individual photograph to the collective of which it may have become a physical, if not necessarily narrative, part is a complex one and, as Batchen has argued, as soon as a snapshot is singled out for closer attention it is no longer what it was as part of the group.¹⁰⁸ It is necessary for the mode of analysis also to refer to and from the photograph as individual and collective, unique and, at least potentially, multiple.

¹⁰⁴ Geoffrey Batchen, "Desiring Production," in *Each Wild Idea : Writing, Photography, History*, ed. Geoffrey Batchen (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), 24.

¹⁰⁵ Geoffrey Batchen, "Taking and Making," in *Each Wild Idea : Writing, Photography, History*, ed. Geoffrey Batchen (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2001), 106.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹⁰⁷ Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies," 266.

¹⁰⁸ Batchen, "Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn," 132.

Edwards and Hart suggest a model of photographic materiality that operates on two interrelated levels, the plasticity of the image (chemicals, paper, toning, surface variations), and presentational forms (mountings, albums, frames etc), both carrying traces of usage and time.¹⁰⁹ Presentation is an important means of demonstrating ownership by an individual who might have had little control over technical or compositional aspects of the photograph's creation.¹¹⁰ It is noteworthy that the writers proceed directly to the assumption that the photograph is a paper object encountered in a relatively 'finished' presentational setting. Materialist thinking should also forefront the particular plasticities and presentations of other photographic objects and the modes of encounter that they entail, for example the negatives and slides which comprise the Joyce collection and present particular handling and viewing challenges.

Edwards and Hart have found inspiration in an anthropologically-derived material culture model, particularly because it

... allows [them] to question ingrained assumptions concerning the superiority of language over other forms of expression, such as visual/material forms, and constitutes objects as important bridges between mental and physical worlds.¹¹¹

This approach positions photographs as

... active and reciprocal rather than simply implications of authority, control and passive consumption on the one hand, or of aesthetic discourses and the supremacy of individual vision on the other.¹¹²

A close consideration of materiality, then, may allow thinking with photographs to traverse the extremes of socialisation and aestheticism and to contribute to the unveiling of the assumptions behind both.

¹⁰⁹ Joan M. Schwartz, "Un Beau Souvenir Du Canada: Object, Image, Symbolic Space," in *Photographs Objects Histories : On the Materiality of Images*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, *Material Cultures* (London: Routledge, 2004), 3.

¹¹⁰ Nuno Porto, "under the Gaze of the Ancestors': Photographs and Performance in Colonial Angola," in *Photographs Objects Histories : On the Materiality of Images*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, *Material Cultures* (London: Routledge, 2004), 11.

¹¹¹ Schwartz, "Un Beau Souvenir Du Canada: Object, Image, Symbolic Space," 4., discussion of Miller, D. *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1987., 96-99.

Echoing many other writers, Edwards and Hart also suggest that, “[i]t is often ... when objects are assumed to be trivial and not to matter that they are most powerful and effective as social forces...”.¹¹³ Addressing the photograph as something that walks in time and space may provide an entrée into thinking with everyday photographs in particular, those commonly silent on traditional interpretive hooks, and often moving in confusingly large groups. A photograph may elude superficial description, but simply acknowledging that it is a photograph may be enough to open a conversation with it, and to create a space for its stilled voices to be heard.

2.6 *What remains*

Beyond, and perhaps before, the sociological, photographs also harbour emotional and subjective values, and this is also materially as well as pictorially founded. Gunnar Swanson, for example, has suggested

...[T]ry applying a suggestion given to me by an art history professor of mine at UCLA. After talking about “primitive” views of the photograph that link the photographic images and the subject’s soul, he stated that we all knew that this was silly; photographs were just a collection of metallic salts and pigments on paper. To prove it, he suggested that we all go get a picture of someone we love and poke the eyes out with a pin.¹¹⁴

Taking a cue from Barthes, meanwhile, Sontag identifies sentiment, nostalgia and an awareness of mortality as the primary emotions associated with viewing photographs.

Photographs turn the past into an object of tender regard, scrambling moral distinctions and disarming historical judgements by the generalized pathos of looking at time past. ...

¹¹² Ibid., 15.

¹¹³ Ibid., 6., discussion of Miller, D.(ed.) *Material Culture : Why Some Things Matter*, London, University College London Press, 1998, 9-12.

¹¹⁴ Gunnar Swanson, *On Notions of Truth in Photography: Semiotics and the Stereograph* [Web site] (1991 [cited 27 July 2005]); available from <http://www.gunnarswanson.com/writingpages/TruthinPhotography.html>.

And naive snapshots or conventional studio portraits are the most effective because they seem the most odd, moving, premonitory, with the passage of time.¹¹⁵

This response is subjective and experiential, a reaction that persists alongside and despite cultural encodings. It may not hold true universally but it demonstrates that, just as modernist concerns with form and aesthetics could not explain all the photograph has to offer, so too do the sociological explorations fall short, since the imaginary abilities of the viewer also animate the photographic conversation.

On the surface, photographs may speak most poignantly about the past. They provide a visual, chemical, haptic and aspirational connection between past and present, while reserving the potential to persist into the future. But they evoke the past and the future in the present, and it is here that they impact most directly. As Geoffrey Batchen has noted, the stylistic and compositional conservatism of most ordinary photographs and their persistence beyond the lifespans of their creators shifts the imaginative burden from maker to viewer.¹¹⁶ But still the question persists - What shape might this process of imagination productively take? Joan Schwartz suggests that,

...if the narrative of a photograph ... is dissipated by historical, cultural and geographic distance, our understanding of it must start from a strong sense of the mutability of meaning of both image and object, and proceed through careful micro- as well as macro-historical reconstruction to recover, as best we can, its contexts of creation, circulation and viewing.¹¹⁷

Combinations of empirical and conceptual interrogation, alongside an attempt to reconstruct relevant contexts, are certainly worthwhile activities when thinking with anachronistic or otherwise opaque photographs. However, even if all the questions that might be asked about a particular photograph could be answered, would the data necessarily add up to an understanding of the photograph's operation? I suggest that this forensic process is really a preamble, a means of sifting and weighing around

¹¹⁵ Sontag, *On Photography*, 71, 74.

¹¹⁶ Batchen, "Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn," 133.

which other, less quantifiable, but ultimately more insightful, responses might arise. Thinking with photographs is not about applying a disinterested methodology to produce an answer, but about holding in balance a range of often discontinuous prompts and using these to reach beyond the confines of the surface.

2.7 *Summary*

This outline of the cross-generational thinking about and with photographs demonstrates a shift from thinking in generalisations across a medium and a phenomenon, to thinking with its individual evocations, and looking out from there to understand how photographs circulate, moderate, are valued and are ignored. In recent years, a number of writers have nominated issues that must be taken into account in seeking to approach photographs on their own terms but Elizabeth Edwards has, perhaps, come closest to naming and describing this means of address. To return to her model of thinking with photographs, the genealogy presented here confirms the emphasis on generative rather than definitive thinking, constructing the photograph as something rhetorical that human beings do and re-do over lifetimes and beyond. It shows photographic thinking to be discontinuous, fragmentary and synecdochic, and the meanings which arise from it to be collective, negotiated and shifting. It looks to what takes place around the photograph as much as what is shown within it, highlighting a particular relationship with words that both seeds and gives expression to response. It makes the photograph a starting point for new thinking, animating the viewer in this process, and reserving a place for subjective response alongside rational enquiry. However it also requires that thinking with photographs be able to address the photographic mass as well as individual photographs and to move back and forth between the two, and that it be cognisant of the physicality of the photograph and the photographic encounter as well as its picture content.

¹¹⁷ Schwartz, "*Un Beau Souvenir Du Canada: Object, Image, Symbolic Space*," 26.

The humble photograph turns out to be a very complex thing, so it is not surprising that thinking with photographs provides a considerable methodological challenge. In the next chapter I will turn to some of the key issues in the work of Walter Benjamin and Roland Barthes, which underlie much of the preceding discussion, in order to test the shape of thinking with photographs developed here. From there I will propose a model for thinking with photographs based on these discussions and Kenneth Burke's pentad of dramatisitic analysis.

3 Beginning again: Walter Benjamin, Roland

Barthes and the two ways of the photograph

For both Benjamin and Barthes, photography is a vehicle for discussing other issues, including the European social climate of their times. For Benjamin, this encompasses the early decades of the twentieth century, the establishment of socialism in the Soviet Union, fascism and National Socialism in Italy and Germany, and the outbreak of World War II. Benjamin received his doctorate in 1919, meaning his adolescent and student years in Germany took place during the heroic era of Antarctic exploration. Barthes, meanwhile, was born in 1915, during Ernest Joyce's final expedition. He picks up the discussion of photography in post-War France where a new generation of intellectuals sought to understand their role in a world where the optimism of earlier decades was displaced, and where mass communication and mass production were at the core of a rapidly expanding bourgeoisie. Benjamin is writing in the period leading up to and through Newhall's exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, while Barthes, overtly and subtly influenced by Benjamin's work,¹¹⁸ enters the conversation as photography begins to engage with sociology.

Beyond the specificities of their generations and political ends, both writers use photography as an axis around which to propose a new mode of perception, requiring an updated set of analytical skills. They approach photographs primarily as found or finished objects; things to address rather than things to make. I believe that thinking with photographs is the perceptual challenge Benjamin and Barthes posed for themselves and their readers, and to this end I will consider two aspects of their work

¹¹⁸ He acknowledges "... Walter Benjamin's essay, which is good because it is premonitory." Roland Barthes and Linda Coverdale, *The Grain of the Voice : Interviews 1962-1980*, 1st California paperback ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 354. Barthes also stated openly that he was influenced by Benjamin, and taught Benjamin's essays about photography to his students. Jeanine Carol Ferguson, "Developing Clichés : Walter Benjamin and Roland Barthes at the Limits of Photographic Theory" (Thesis (Ph. D.), University of Minnesota, 1997., 1997), 135.

which touch directly on the shape of this thinking as it has arisen in Chapter two. The first is the impact of photography on the experience of time, a quiet but hugely significant event in terms of the perception of history in particular, and the second traces these writers' attempts to name this altered perception in play, around the notion of a binary operation of photographic meaning - broadly speaking the cultural and the subjective. This discussion will demonstrate that thinking with photographs as I have constructed it from recent writing, resonates with the values argued by two of the most important foundational writers on photography, thereby establishing both the validity of the approach and the ongoing relevance of these writers in today's discourse.

3.1 *Photographs and the construction of time*

In 1980 Barthes suggested that the invention of photography "... divides the history of the world."¹¹⁹ Modes of thinking and ways of being were irrevocably altered, as were the responsibilities of perception. Benjamin had put forward a similar argument almost five decades earlier, and his construction of photography's explosion of the notion of linear time paves the way for both writers to argue a new mode of thinking for a potentially photographic world.

A photograph represents in the viewer's present a picture of something that has authentically occurred in the past. In Barthes' words,

The type of consciousness the photograph involves is indeed truly unprecedented, since it establishes not a consciousness of the *being-there* of the thing (which any copy could provoke) but an awareness of the *having-been-there*. What we have is a new space-time category: spatial immediacy and temporal anteriority¹²⁰

As Mary Bittner Wiseman explains, the photograph breaches the traditional order of perception, which requires that an object is taken to exist because it is perceived. In

¹¹⁹ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida : Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1981), 88.

the case of the photograph, the object depicted is taken to have existed only when the photographic picture is perceived.¹²¹

Photography's certain but fugitive testimony to the reality of the past is given in the present, and the conjunction of present and past abolishes duration and ripening, whose story history recounts.¹²²

The photograph renders time a series of moments, fatally disrupting the linear assumptions behind traditional concepts of history. History thought with photographs is not about joining dots, but about allowing them to circulate, and glimpsing from time to time the collective forms that come into view and dissolve among them. The challenge is to prevent this galaxy of fragments from dispersing into chaos.

This containment of the fragmentary occurs collaboratively in society, through the creation and re-enactment of generalised and purportedly definitive namings of places, times and peoples. In his *Passagen-Werk* Benjamin discusses the nineteenth century "illusion" of the world as an "... endless series of facts congealed in the form of things",¹²³ pointing to his awareness of the importance of objects as sites of meaning but not, as the early structuralists wanted them to be, sites of mining for codified answers. Benjamin saw objects as circling manifestations of the taken for granted, the myths and the aspirations of the humans who interact with them, but the distancing of human actions from their material outputs resulted in an illusory haze of completed knowledge which Benjamin's photographic perception sought to clear. For him, photography brings action and output together, making the creative process and its material expression both part of the here and now of everyday life.

¹²⁰ Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image Music Text, Fontana Communications Series* (London: Fontana, 1977), 44.

¹²¹ Mary Bittner Wiseman, *The Ecstasies of Roland Barthes, Critics of the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 1989), 146-47.

¹²²¹²² Ibid., 184.

¹²³ Walter Benjamin, "Paris Capital of the Nineteenth Century, Expose of 1939," in *Passagen-Werk: The Arcades Project*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1999).

Benjamin discusses the perpetuation of apparently fixed meanings in a context that brings to mind the role of museums. He speaks of history in the nineteenth century mode as

... an inventory, point by point, of humanity's life forms and creations. The riches thus amassed in the aerarium of civilisation henceforth appear as though identified for all time. This conception of history minimizes the fact that such riches owe not only their existence but also their transmission to a constant effort in society – an effort, moreover, by which these riches are strangely altered.¹²⁴

This effort of transmission is a conservative force, an outline which situates all human actions within a form that abstracts and entangles the individual. It is expressed most commonly as culture, and in highlighting and seeking to push beyond this meta-narrativity, Benjamin also points beyond modernism's reflexive containment, making the shifting frameworks of overriding value sets a conscious part of the consideration of human behaviour.

For Benjamin, the transmission of values through the agency of exemplars takes place

... not only in a theoretical manner, by an ideological transposition, but also in the immediacy of their perceptible presence. They are manifest phantasmagorias.¹²⁵

Objects in use as part of collections (and elsewhere) are conceptually and physically charged with associative properties. Collecting, by museums and individuals, abstracts objects from functional to exemplary, as the notion of landscape abstracts hills, roads and rivers.¹²⁶ The connoisseurial behaviour of the collector may provide insight into the operation of an object that is invisible to the everyday user but, equally, the collection may become a filter through which the world according to the collector is delimited, ordered and attested without question.¹²⁷ Meaning is partial, shifting and negotiated, and Benjamin requires that the new perception challenge the

¹²⁴ Ibid., 14.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Walter Benjamin and Rolf Tiedemann, *Passagen-Werk: The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1999), 203.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 207.

illusory state of the definitive answer, which effectively closes rather than encourages thinking.

Like Edwards, Benjamin shows the act of collecting and the collector (including an institutional collector such as a museum) to be active participants in the shaping of meaning around an object. This demonstrates that meaning is generated elsewhere than simply in moments of creation, and that the notion of completeness implied in the title of collection is erroneous. This is particularly so when a group of objects is described as a collection only by museum convention, as is the case with the Ernest Joyce collection, which remains more fragmentary than overtly narrative and might more productively be described as a collective, open to reconfiguration rather than somehow at an end.

Barthes suggests that the photograph provides a more authentic experience of the past than the overt and layered fabrications of written or spoken histories.¹²⁸ However, accepting this directness means letting go of the reassurance of definition. The photograph ushers in fragments, anonymities, personal responses, competing viewpoints, untruths and failures, and the inclusion of photographs in museum collections requires that they also admit subjectivity and multiplicity of meaning.

The distance provided by chronological removal is important in this construction of the past since the significance of an object is hidden "...from the author as from the public of his time..."¹²⁹ and, using a specifically photographic metaphor, Benjamin suggests that, "[o]nly the future has developers at its disposal that are strong enough to bring forth the image in all its details..."¹³⁰ As John McCole explains,

¹²⁸ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 79-80.

¹²⁹ Translation by John McCole, John McCole, *Walter Benjamin and the Antinomies of Tradition* (Ithaca ; London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 121-22.

¹³⁰ Translation by John McCole, *Ibid.*, 290.; McCole likens this construction to Gadamer's hermeneutics in which reception involves contact between the present and specific moments in past which are not always accessible, and reception is not passive acceptance, but creation anew, (*Ibid.*).

The passage of time is not an obstacle to this labor but a crucial ally; by estranging appearances from later readers, draining them of deceptive familiarity, it forces a harder look at them.¹³¹

The operation of non-linear time and the acts of those who receive photographs bring out meanings latent within them and, although the photograph remains relevant, it is the network of actions and reactions around it which constitute progressive momentum.

In order for these objects from the past to participate in the present they must be recognised. *Vergenwaertigung* - making things present – is Benjamin's cardinal principle of historical understanding.¹³²

Every present is determined by those images that are synchronic with it: every now is the now of a particular recognizability. In it, truth is loaded with time to the bursting point.¹³³

In its most conventional form this legibility might occur for a photograph through textual or verbal description. Benjamin suggests that photographic captions condense generative intent,¹³⁴ pointing selectively to the meaning a viewer 'should' take from a photograph. For him this was primarily a function of the photographer.¹³⁵ However, subsequent generations and subsequent users may add their own captions, all of which are at least as ideologically charged as the photograph they purport to define.

Barthes sees an "important historical reversal"¹³⁶ in the advent of photography whereby

¹³¹ Ibid., 122.

¹³² Ibid., 248.

¹³³ Translation by John McCole, Ibid., 290.

¹³⁴ Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technical Reproducibility (Third Version)," in *Selected Writings*, ed. Marcus Paul Bullock, et al. (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 258.

¹³⁵ Walter Benjamin, "Little History of Photography," in *Selected Writings*, ed. Marcus Paul Bullock, et al. (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999).

¹³⁶ Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in *Image Music Text*, Fontana Communications Series (London: Fontana, 1977), 25.

... the image no longer *illustrates* the words; it is now the words which, structurally, are parasitic on the image. ... [I]t is not the image which comes to elucidate or 'realize' the text, but the latter which comes to subliminate, patheticize or rationalize the image. ... Formerly the image illustrated the text (made it clearer); today, the text loads the image, burdening it with a culture, a moral, an imagination.¹³⁷

The linguistic message is a device by which society "... remote-controls [the viewer] towards a meaning chosen in advance."¹³⁸ In this construction, thinking with photographs becomes a broader perceptual skill without which the operation of words also cannot be fully explored.

In 'Rhetoric of the Image', Barthes introduces the notion of relay between text and image, less common, he believes, than anchorage, particularly around still images,¹³⁹ but perhaps more frequently encountered in everyday photographs than Barthes realised.

Here text ... and image stand in a complementary relationship; the words, in the same way as the images, are fragments of a more general syntagm and the unity of the message is realized at a higher level, that of the story, the anecdote, the diegesis...¹⁴⁰

A similar function of word and image might be found in the networks that often surround photographs, for example an arrangement in an album where fragments of word and image align and collide to give rise to a wider conversation. Similarly photographs enduring through generations as stepping off points for oral traditions enter into the chit chat of word: picture relays, oscillating back and forth between points of view and points of visualisation. Of course, a methodology for thinking with photographs must also address the great mass of photographs that are unaccompanied by words in the viewer's presence, activating identifications with picture content and tactile interactions with the photographic object.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 26.

¹³⁸ Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 40.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 41.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

Barthes describes the photograph as a temporal hallucination (a kind of madness) – false on the level of perception, true on the level of time.¹⁴¹ What it depicts is not there, but undeniably has been. Society attempts to tame the madness of photography by turning it into art or by generalising it to such an extent that its special character is no longer evident. This, he believes, stems from the proliferation of photographs which induces lives to be led in accordance with the image repertoire they present.¹⁴² His argument implies that photography has gone beyond representation to become an active agent in the creation of human interaction. However, “When generalized, [the photograph] ... completely de-realizes the human world of conflicts and desires, under coverage of illustrating it”.¹⁴³ Modern societies consume images rather than beliefs, constructions and generalisations rather than diversities. Barthes concludes these to be

... the two ways of the Photograph. The choice is mine: to subject its spectacle to the civilized code of perfect illusions, or to confront in it the wakening of intractable reality.¹⁴⁴

This is the binary operation of thinking with photographs – the abstracted symbolism of cultural rhetoric, and the unique and personal experience which continues to make photographs something more than dispassionate pieces of paper, glass and film.

But the extremes of the collective and the individual do not operate in isolation, as is exemplified in Barthes’ consideration of the slippage between public and private. He comments, “...the age of Photography corresponds precisely to the explosion of the private into the public, or rather to the creation of a new social value, which is the publicity of the private.”¹⁴⁵ This slippage is encapsulated in *Camera Lucida* in Barthes’ infamous Winter Garden photograph of his mother and uncle as children. With its discursive centrality in the book, Barthes renders this personal item, and indeed his recently deceased mother, objects of public concern. The Winter Garden

¹⁴¹ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 115.

¹⁴² Ibid., 118.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 119.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 98.

photograph provides an enduring but elusive memorial to Barthes' mother who to this day is discussed and imagined around the world by people who never knew her.¹⁴⁶ As personal items, including photographs, letters and clothing, populate museum collections in increasing numbers, they similarly render these once domestically enclosed fragments and their previous owners, like Ernest Joyce, fodder for public consumption.

Benjamin's emphasis on the fragmentary nature of photographic meaning brought about a perceptual shift that threw into relief the constructed nature of the meta-narratives of linear history. The challenge left by Barthes is to find a productive means of mediating the poles of cultural generalisation and personal response and, as I will argue in Chapter four, Kenneth Burke may provide a way forward.

3.2 *The two levels of photographic meaning*

Benjamin establishes a perceptual mode in which the conservative force of transmission is necessary for the continuance of human identity and thought. However, the form of this tradition cannot be accepted uncritically as productive. The individual must be awake to its rhetorical and ideological operation and take responsibility for his or her reactions, while tradition, in turn, must make room for individual behaviours that challenge accepted norms. For both Benjamin and Barthes, photographs provide a field in which to explore the relationship between the collective and the individual.

¹⁴⁶ In fact, in *Camera Lucida* Barthes voices the idea that he might one day write a "compilation" about her, so that "... her memory will last at least the time of my own notoriety." Ibid., 63. *Camera Lucida* may, in fact, already be that compilation.

3.2.1 *The cultured photograph*

Benjamin suggests that investigations into the operation of ideology should seek out "...those objects in which truth appears most concentrated at the time ...".¹⁴⁷ Photographs, with their picture content based in analogy and their existence taken for granted in everyday life, are obvious targets for such enquiry. He lays the foundations for the discussion in two works dealing closely with photography, 1931's *Little history of photography*¹⁴⁸ and *The work of art in the age of its technical reproducibility*¹⁴⁹, first published in 1936 and reworked in three versions by 1939.

Technology is a cornerstone of Benjamin's new perceptual mode, with the camera mediating photographic meaning as the first recipient of the communicative act, and estranging performer from audience. This estrangement is unsettling but it also throws into relief the process of making and receiving visual statements, and this literal, intellectual and temporal gap is a place to step back and consider its ideological implications.¹⁵⁰ It is here that the culturally constructed elements of photographic meaning may be considered. While complete objectivity to cultural rhetoric is probably impossible, Benjamin requires that the perceptually responsible communicator be aware of the ideologies encountered as well as his or her own part in the construction of meaning, and willing to question both.¹⁵¹

Technology also drives another key element of Benjamin's construction of the cultural functioning of photographs, reproducibility. Reproducibility brings picture content bluntly and in unprecedented quantity to the hands and eyes of previously

¹⁴⁷ Translation by John McCole, McCole, *Walter Benjamin and the Antinomies of Tradition*, 173.

¹⁴⁸ Benjamin, "Little History of Photography," 507-30.

¹⁴⁹ Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technical Reproducibility (Third Version)," 251-83.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 261.

¹⁵¹ Walter Benjamin, "Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia," in *Selected Writings*, ed. Marcus Paul Bullock, et al. (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: Belknap

excluded audiences.¹⁵² At issue, of course, is the control of the apparatus of reproduction and the values exerted in that process. Reproducibility is contrasted with authenticity, which rests in

... the here and now of the work of art – its unique existence in a particular place. It is this unique existence – and nothing else – that bears the mark of the history to which the work has been subject. This history includes changes to the physical structure of the work over time, together with any changes in ownership.¹⁵³

Further,

The authenticity of a thing is the quintessence of all that is transmissible in it from its origin on, ranging from its physical duration to the historical testimony relating to it.¹⁵⁴

Authenticity is a function of the transmission of culture. It includes all those facts and fictions that are created by human interaction, and alters in shape through time and place. It involves inherited formulas and clichés as well as conceptual, dialogical and physical conventions of address, and is manifested in myth and ritual.

For Benjamin, authenticity had created the haze circumventing meaningful interaction between humans and the worlds they inhabit, and photographic reproducibility promised a means of cutting through this fetishistic and elitist way of thinking.¹⁵⁵ However, similar values have been asserted in recent discussions of photographic materiality, and reproducibility has remained only a potential for the vast majority of photographs. Photographically reproduced form may have brought picture content to new audiences, but it has also pushed the photograph as object further away. In many ways, Benjamin was right – the photograph has been accepted as transmissible picture, and for most people ownership of the image is paramount, its material (or even digital) form remaining unnoticed. Paradoxically, this lack of cognisance of the

Press of Harvard University Press, 1999). And McCole, *Walter Benjamin and the Antinomies of Tradition*, 227.

¹⁵² Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technical Reproducibility (Third Version)," 253-54.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 253.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 254.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 253-54.

material existence of photographs has bolstered the continued primacy of the written word and perpetuated a separation between human actions and their physical photographic outputs. In this way, reproducibility has actually aided the substantiation of the unquestioned transmission of meta-narratives.

However, just as the content of the photographic picture is perceived in the now of the viewer, the recent emphasis on the photograph as enduring object brings it back into play as part of the transmission of culture, open to material as well as pictorial re-evaluation. Highlighting the photograph as object might appear to be at odds with Benjamin's construction of photography, but I suggest that his materialism and his wider writing demonstrate this to be an entirely appropriate component of thinking with photographs in Benjamin's terms. He argued, for example, for the continued necessity of the authentic since it is the source of tradition which is central to the transmissibility of culture.¹⁵⁶ It is not that authenticity need cease to exist, but that its existence should be acknowledged as part of the process of creating meaning. In his later work, Benjamin began to consider that tradition itself was fragmented and discontinuous. In particular, he became concerned with the tradition of the oppressed, with the cultures, voices and values that were rendered anonymous by dominant ideologies and their emphasis on genius.¹⁵⁷ Photographs, and particularly photographs belonging to those who, like Ernest Joyce, were excluded from influential circles, have considerable potential to reactivate the voices of the marginalised via this contestable construction of tradition.

Benjamin emphasises the physical nature of photographic perception as a skill to be learned and requiring a mode of engagement beyond the visual.

For the tasks which face the human apparatus of perception at historical turning points cannot be performed solely by optical means They are

¹⁵⁶ McCole, *Walter Benjamin and the Antinomies of Tradition*, 7.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 299.

mastered gradually – taking their cue from tactile reception – through habit.¹⁵⁸

He aligns *Erlebnis* – perception sealed off from experience – with the decay of tradition, isolating the past from the present. By contrast, *Erfahrung* affirms the “power of experience”¹⁵⁹ and focuses on the space between the now and what has gone before. Photographic materiality highlights the experiential operation of the photographic object within a real and shifting human context, and provides just such an intellectual space where meanings beyond the overtly intended may arise.

Benjamin also emphasises photographic construction by reference to *avant garde* art movements of his time, particularly surrealism.¹⁶⁰ In surrealist photographic montage physical elements and visual details are lifted or repeated from a scene and relocated in unexpected assemblages to unbalance the indexicality of the image and challenge the viewer to consider the visual message in a destabilising way. This calls attention to the artificiality of what is presented, countering the seamless realism of the analogue. Photographic construction emphasises dislocation, fragmentation and juxtaposition, Benjamin’s key tools for creating new insights through literal and conceptual gaps and ambiguities. He concludes that the surrealists failed to grasp the opportunities provided by the new perceptual environment because they submitted their media to the aesthetic value judgements of previous generations. However the example indicates Benjamin’s awareness of the need to confront the photograph as a humanly crafted entity.

For Benjamin, authenticity is part of an object’s aura¹⁶¹ and photographic materiality effectively seeks to reassert that aura, but in a haptic and questioning way. Edwards and Hart have described materiality as a means of “...reinvest[ing] photographs of all

¹⁵⁸ Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technical Reproducibility (Third Version)," 268.

¹⁵⁹ McCole, *Walter Benjamin and the Antinomies of Tradition*, 2.

¹⁶⁰ Benjamin, "Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia."

¹⁶¹ Benjamin, "Little History of Photography," 518-19.

sorts with their own 'aura' of thingness existing in the world."¹⁶² Importantly, though, photographic materiality is not about establishing an 'authentic' photograph. As Benjamin noted, "From a photographic plate, ... one can make any number of prints; to ask for the 'authentic' print makes no sense."¹⁶³ It is not a photographic originality that materiality seeks, but a broader, experiential, associative and more truly auratic authenticity, knowingly deployed. The reassertion of the photograph as object promises a means of disrupting the ideological veneer of the analogue. Standing back, before being sucked into the detail of the picture, to consider the photograph's material manifestation, provides a gap in which to begin to address the photo-object on its own terms.

Barthes also begins his discussion of photographs with the intent of exposing their ideological and rhetorical function, and of equipping individuals to question complexly constructed photographic messages. This part of Barthes' work charts his interest in, and disillusionment with, structuralism and semiotics, exploring the idea that photographs may be approached in a similar way to words. Barthes sought to "... track down, in the decorative display of *what-goes-without saying*, the ideological abuse which, in [his] view, [was] hidden there."¹⁶⁴ His aim was to train the viewer to be "... bold, agile, subtle, intelligent, detached ..." ¹⁶⁵ and ready to look beyond the surface of what is presented in everyday life to consider why it is there.

Barthes moves through several attempts at naming the components of photographic meaning, struggling with the lack of an extant vocabulary for the purpose, and aware of the associative power of naming.¹⁶⁶ He begins with the notion that photographs

¹⁶² Edwards, "Introduction: Photographs as Objects," 9.

¹⁶³ Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technical Reproducibility (Third Version)," 256.

¹⁶⁴ Roland Barthes and Annette Lavers, *Mythologies* (London: Cape, 1972), 11.

¹⁶⁵ Roland Barthes and Susan Sontag, *A Barthes Reader* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), xvii.

¹⁶⁶ See, for example, the discussions in Barthes, "The Photographic Message," 15-20. Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 37. Roland Barthes, "The Third Meaning," in *Image Music Text*, *Fontana Communications Series* (London: Fontana, 1977), 41-42, 44.

might communicate a picture language, for which an exhaustive lexicon could be developed,¹⁶⁷ but comes to consider them more as shifting assemblages of symbolic elements, hanging tenuously together or anchored with more secure intent by the addition of a second sign system in the form of accompanying text.¹⁶⁸

In 'Photography and Electoral Appeal', published in his 1957 collection of essays, *Mythologies*, Barthes explores the generalised operation of photographs as aspirational triggers.

... [A] photograph is a mirror, what we are asked to read is the familiar, the known; it offers the voter his own likeness, but clarified, exalted, superbly elevated into a type. This glorification is in fact the very definition of the photogenic: the voter is at once expressed and heroized, he is invited to elect himself ...¹⁶⁹

Photographs are comforting, at least for an appropriately literate audience – "... man likes signs and likes them clear."¹⁷⁰ Photographs are abstractions which hold tight to a remainder of reality, creating messages that are both rhetorical and beguilingly plausible, and against which lived lives may be measured. This photographic connotation is "... an institutional activity; in relation to society overall, its function is to integrate man, to reassure him."¹⁷¹

But Benjamin has taught us to be wary of exemplars, and all of this is for the viewer to unravel. In his 1967 essay 'The Death of the Author',¹⁷² Barthes upturns the perceptual tradition whereby

[t]he *explanation* of a work is always sought in the man or woman who produced it, as if it were always in the end, through the more or less

¹⁶⁷ Barthes, "The Photographic Message," 28.

¹⁶⁸ Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 34-35.

¹⁶⁹ Barthes and Lavers, *Mythologies*, 99.

¹⁷⁰ Barthes, "The Photographic Message," 29.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 31.

¹⁷² Geoffrey Batchen, "Camera Lucida: Another Little History of Photography," in *Photography Degree Zero : Reflections on Roland Barthes's Camera Lucida*, ed. Geoffrey Batchen (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009), 263.

transparent allegory of the fiction, the voice of a single person, the *author* 'confiding' in us.¹⁷³

By contrast, he proposes a text (or piece of music or painting) as a "... a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash."¹⁷⁴ In this construction, the author is reduced to scriptor, manipulating and combining pre-existing signifiers, and any attempt to uncover a singular textual meaning becomes futile. "In the multiplicity of writing, everything is to be *disentangled*, nothing *deciphered* ...".¹⁷⁵ The focal centre becomes the reader since "... a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination",¹⁷⁶ and the active reader, or viewer, treads a complex line between guiding and becoming the subject of enquiry.

The cultured photograph, then, is a device for considering the operation of ideology whose constructive starting point is the temporal and technological space inherent at its inception, amplified by the passage of time. It highlights networks of aspiration and association, pictorially and materially, and places particular emphasis on the generative role of the viewer in shaping meaning. But the photograph's intellectual space does not equate to absolute objectivity, and the viewer must also be aware of the assumptions and desires brought to bear by the process of enquiry.

3.2.2 *The remainder*

Alongside this effort to express the collective operation of photographs, both Benjamin and Barthes are troubled by something that is inexplicable in terms of a rational exchange of symbols and associations. Even in Benjamin's overtly political construction of photographic meaning, individual response and emotion persist as

¹⁷³ Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Image Music Text*, Fontana Communications Series (London: Fontana, 1977), 143.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 145-46.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 147.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 148.

valid points of entry. He describes “an unruly desire”¹⁷⁷ in his reaction to photographs that pushes him to know all he can about what is presented and particularly about details beyond the control of photographer and target.¹⁷⁸ He looks for “...what was unremarked, forgotten, cast adrift...”¹⁷⁹ searching past the photographer’s intent for some additional message that he, as viewer, can coax from the photograph. He also reserves a place for aesthetic appreciation, proposing a perceptive skill that fuses pleasure with an attitude of expert appraisal.¹⁸⁰

These emotional responses occur as sparks and flashes of insight emerging from an enduring photographic object but operating around it rather than analytically within it. Benjamin’s most developed exploration of this idea is the dialectical image, a key component in his construction of history, to which Ralf Konsermann has found a specifically photographic parallel.

The metaphor of the photographic snapshot encapsulates and illustrates several of those attitudes which characterise the conditions and modes of this historiography: the transience of the chance which presents itself; the suddenness with which the motif appears; the momentariness of the truth which is to be established; the fleetingness of the spatio-temporal constellation in which one must act; the visualisation of the past as an image which receives its illumination from references to the present.¹⁸¹

Hans Jost Frey’s discussion of Benjamin’s term *Darstellung*, or presentation, may demonstrate how this operates. *Darstellung* involves communication, but it is not what is said.

¹⁷⁷ Benjamin, “Little History of Photography,” 510.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technical Reproducibility (Third Version),” 264.

¹⁸¹ Quoted in, Graeme Gilloch and Walter Benjamin, *Myth and Metropolis : Walter Benjamin and the City* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 113.

Presentation is not the communication of a sequence of thoughts, but the discontinuous arrangement of 'fragments of thought ... where coherence lies outside knowledge and flashes forth in the gaps and breaks.'¹⁸²

Presentation is the meaning found in the remainder after the literal has been communicated.¹⁸³ Benjamin stated, "I have nothing to say. Only to show",¹⁸⁴ emphasising that it is not the content of what is presented that is of paramount importance but that which done around and in spite of it. In Frey's terms, "A presentation is theatrical, it does not say, but performs."¹⁸⁵ This construction recalls the theatricality in Edwards' thinking with photographs and points towards Burke's dramatic construction of the doing of reality.

Presentation provides an opening into what lies outside the cognitively accessible, requiring that the process of thinking take account of that which it cannot master.¹⁸⁶ To this end, Benjamin establishes discontinuity as a research method, recognising a certain systematic arrangement in the attempt to incorporate that which cannot be planned for into reasoned enquiry. He describes this process as "pausing for breath", standing back to provide an opportunity for the unanticipated to occur, and then returning repeatedly to the subject matter in the manner of an "excavation", a method of searching which makes room for luck.¹⁸⁷ He proposes a "... methodological surrender to chance..."¹⁸⁸ which, in Frey's terms, aims to grapple with what shines through the interstices of fragments of thought, and divulges the relationships between concepts which are suppressed by communicative intent.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸² Hans Jost Frey, "On Presentation in Benjamin," in *Walter Benjamin : Theoretical Questions*, ed. David S. Ferris (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996), 139-40.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 148.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 163.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 141.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 142.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 143.

Benjamin likens discontinuous investigation to a mosaic in which the image emerges from disparate elements, themselves ruins of something that has gone before.¹⁹⁰ It is vital to understand the nature and origins of the shards (the subject matter) in order to be open to the possibility of understanding the image they combine to create, and so it is necessary to look outside of the object of enquiry to form a view of the context within which it takes place. As John McCole comments, strategies of indirection lead to dialectical image,¹⁹¹ and the distracted attention involved in looking through photographs may provide an appropriate opportunity for such a spark to emerge from the register of visual and physical detail.

Barthes also argued, with increasing force, that mining a photograph for every possible symbolic connotation could not fully explain the way it operates. Like Benjamin, Barthes expresses this ‘remainder’ as experiential, struggling to communicate or even be aware of it without bringing it into the codification of language and losing its unique value. In ‘The Photographic Message’ he locates the remainder in the structural autonomy of the photograph, something additional to the symbol exchange of the picture and the intent of its creators, but still requiring words to be expressed.¹⁹² By 1970’s ‘The Third Meaning’, Barthes calls it the “obtuse” meaning¹⁹³. He cannot name its source but feels it emergent in an amalgam of detail. Here, it eludes linguistic representation but can be seen and acknowledged.¹⁹⁴ The obtuse meaning signifies, although Barthes cannot say what.¹⁹⁵ It extends beyond culture, reaching towards emotion, impression, irrationality and subjectivity.¹⁹⁶

Barthes draws together these two lines of thinking in *Camera Lucida*, a complex work which Geoffrey Batchen has suggested provides, among other things, a

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 147.

¹⁹¹ McCole, *Walter Benjamin and the Antinomies of Tradition*, 154.

¹⁹² Barthes, “The Photographic Message,” 15.

¹⁹³ Barthes, “The Third Meaning,” 44.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 61.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 42–43.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 44.

methodological stepping off point for those seeking to think photographically. Whereas many writers on the essay begin, in the traditional mode, by considering its words and how these relate to the photographs it contains, Batchen takes heed of one of the book's lessons, making its photographs his primary point of entry, with his words joining Barthes' in a conversation around them. As Batchen argues, *Camera Lucida* puts the experience of photographs at the centre of thinking; it feels and thinks with photographs. In practical terms, Batchen begins his response by considering how many photographs are included, what type of photograph they are, what time period they draw from, and how they are arranged in the book. This data is not particularly incisive in itself, but sifting through it allows Batchen to demonstrate *Camera Lucida* to be also a history of photography, and specifically a brief history of everyday photographs, structurally and conceptually referencing Benjamin's earlier work.¹⁹⁷ It also provides an example of working across the interstices of a photographic collective to produce insights not necessarily obvious on the surface, although this is still a relatively small group of around 25 photographs.

Batchen's insights might not have appeared to a reader who plunged straight into the depths of Barthes' prose. Approaching the photographs first allows him the intellectual space to consider the content and context of Barthes' work primarily as a reaction to photographs. Batchen notes that there is no obvious motivation behind the selection of photographs in *Camera Lucida*, other than Barthes' personal taste and rhetorical convenience.¹⁹⁸ He also suggests that the photographs chosen are not as important as the way they are analysed.

The implication is that these pictorial selections could be changed over and over again and that if we could each develop the capacity for critical reading, all of us could curate our own history of photography.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Batchen, "Camera Lucida: Another Little History of Photography," 262.

¹⁹⁸ Geoffrey Batchen, "Palinode: An Introduction to *Photography Degree Zero*," in *Photography Degree Zero : Reflections on Roland Barthes's Camera Lucida*, ed. Geoffrey Batchen (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009), 11.

¹⁹⁹ Batchen, "Camera Lucida: Another Little History of Photography," 263.

This is Barthes' activated reader and Benjamin's presentation in action. It is not what the photographs say, but what arises around them that is of the greatest value.

And, taking *Camera Lucida* as a model, this conversation will necessarily involve an

... analytical oscillation, a back and forth between whatever examples of photography we encounter in the world and our own prized photographic reliquaries, between cliché and sublimity, sameness and difference, truth and fiction, public and private, infinity and zero – without letting either term rest on its laurels.²⁰⁰

This peripatetic and restless binarism is reminiscent, as Batchen notes, of the positive/negative operation of much of photography,²⁰¹ confirming that thinking with photographs, means thinking *like* a photograph – oscillating between polarities, consuming detail, producing fragment, reaching resolution and beginning again, and doing all of this in a self conscious way that looks beyond the surface and beyond the photograph. It does not involve mining the picture for a set of answers.

Barthes comments, “Whatever it grants to vision and whatever its manner, a photograph is always invisible: it is not it that we see.”²⁰² For him the photograph is a reactive trigger and a site for consideration, but his assertion begs the question, ‘If it is not the photograph that we see, what is it?’ As I demonstrate below, *Camera Lucida* suggests that we find in photographs pretty much exactly what we are looking for, making thinking with photographs also an exercise in critically exploring the thinker's expectations. It is not surprising, then, that Batchen has concluded elsewhere,

Like Benjamin before him, Barthes burrows into the very flesh of photography by allowing his text to take on many of its most salient attributes Put into motion, these attributes then become the structuring principles of his writing. By this means his little book is able to directly engage photography's dissemination and reception as well as its production, encompassing all of its many aspects, whether visible (images and practices) or invisible (effects and experiences). Abandoning chronology as an organizing principle, he looks primarily at ordinary photographs, rather than masterworks, opening up the entire field of photography for examination and

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 269.

²⁰¹ Batchen, "Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn," 136.

²⁰² Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 6.

eschewing any reliance on art historical prejudices. In short, the analytical approach demonstrated by *Camera Lucida* produces a history that is actually *about* photography, not just of photographs.²⁰³

Or, in short again, Batchen finds in *Camera Lucida*, as in a photograph, pretty much exactly what he is looking for. Whether or not these elements are literally present in the essay is not as important as the fact that Batchen was able to establish this argument around it.

3.3 Two unavoidable clichés: the *studium* and the *punctum*

Barthes' final version of the two lines of photographic thinking are famously expressed in *Camera Lucida* as the *studium* and the *punctum*,²⁰⁴ drawing respectively on the cultural and the remainder. Barthes' stated objective here is to stand outside of culture, including his own culture as an intellectual, and to relay the emotional, physical and personal experience of photographs.²⁰⁵ He seeks "... the impossible science of the unique being ...",²⁰⁶ pointing to the failure of social scientific methodologies such as sociology and psychoanalysis to account for something essentially human in photographs. In response, Barthes makes himself the mediator of photographic meaning proposing "... a new science for each object"²⁰⁷ whose diversity might recuperate the individuality that persists behind the generalised mask of transmitted culture.

Barthes describes the *studium* as a field,

... which I perceive quite familiarly as a consequence of my knowledge, my culture; this field can be more or less stylized, more or less successful,

²⁰³ Batchen, "Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn," 136.

²⁰⁴ Famous to the point of cliché for some commentators, see for example, Ferguson, "Developing Clichés : Walter Benjamin and Roland Barthes at the Limits of Photographic Theory", 135., Batchen, "*Camera Lucida*: Another Little History of Photography," 267.

²⁰⁵ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 7-9, 51, Margaret Olin, "Touching Photographs: Roland Barthes's 'Mistaken' Identification," in *Photography Degree Zero : Reflections on Roland Barthes's Camera Lucida*, ed. Geoffrey Batchen (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009).

²⁰⁶ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

depending on the photographer's skill or luck, but it always refers to a classical body of information

Thousands of photographs consist in this field, general interest. One that is even stirred sometimes, but in regard to them my opinion requires the rational interest of an ethical and political culture. What I feel about these photographs derives from an *average* affect, almost from a certain training.²⁰⁸

The insights of the *studium* emerge over time and with scrutiny. The *studium* centres on the photographer's motivations, held in balance by the interventions of the photographic target and the viewer.²⁰⁹ Like Benjamin, Barthes describes the photographer's visual assertions as part of a mythic rite.

It is ... as if I had to read the Photographer's myths in the Photograph, fraternizing with them but not quite believing them. These myths obviously aim (this is what myth is for) at reconciling the Photograph with society ... by endowing it with *functions*, which are, for the Photographer, like so many alibis. These functions are to inform, to represent, to cause to signify, to provoke desire.²¹⁰

The *studium* works to normalise, even to mask, another part of the operation of photographs. Exercising Benjamin's distancing effect, Barthes entertains the *studium*'s ideologically driven narratives, but considers he is not wholly absorbed by them.

Innovation and novelty, which are acts of the photographer, are associated with the *studium*.²¹¹

In an initial period, Photography, in order to surprise, photographs the notable; but soon ... it decrees notable whatever it photographs. The 'anything whatever' then becomes the sophisticated acme of value.²¹²

The representation of the unusual in a photograph (as in heroic-era Antarctica) is an opportunity to absorb it into tradition, and as a social act, photography gives rise to a new kind of importance whereby events, places and people take on significance simply because they have been photographed. Once that significance has been

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 25-26.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 27-28.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 28.

²¹¹ Ibid., 32.

²¹² Ibid., 34.

endorsed through keeping, framing, assembling, displaying and publishing photographs, it follows that similar photographs will proliferate in attempts to identify with the values they are taken to encapsulate.

The conscious act of being photographed also falls within the *studium*. Barthes describes his own behaviour before the camera,

I constitute myself in the process of 'posing,' I instantaneously make another body for myself, I transform myself in advance into an image. This transformation is an active one: I feel that the Photograph creates my body or mortifies it, according to its own caprice

I lend myself to the social game, I pose, I know am posing, I want you to know that I am posing, but (to square the circle) this additional message must in no way alter the precious essence of my individuality²¹³

Being photographed is a behaviour; performative, aspirational and contingent upon a previously absorbed set of photographic and wider social conventions. However, despite his efforts, Barthes finds that photographs seldom present the self he hopes to see. "... [T]he photograph is the advent of myself as other: a cunning dissociation of consciousness from identity."²¹⁴ The photograph dislocates but it also points to the physical impossibility of abstractions. It typically destroys the cherished fabrications of self but this does not prevent us from trying, again and again, to enact them before the camera. And this photographic self is sufficiently externalised to operate as a site for the enactment, witnessing and, indeed, thwarting of aspirations through pictorial, gestural and locational deportment.

For Barthes, the vast majority of photographs elicit the *studium*'s "... kind of general enthusiastic commitment ...".²¹⁵ However, occasionally, "[i]n this glum desert, suddenly a specific photograph reaches me; it animates me and I animate it."²¹⁶ The *studium* is actively sought by the viewer, but this infrequent second element "... rises

²¹³ Ibid., 10-11.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 12.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 26.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 20.

from the scene, shoots out of it like an arrow, and pierces me.”²¹⁷ Clearly recalling Benjamin’s sparks and constellations, this is Barthes’ *punctum*, which disturbs the contractual flow of the *studium*. “A photograph’s *punctum* is that accident which pricks me (but also bruises me, is poignant to me).”²¹⁸

These relatively rare encounters begin with sudden emotion that may give way to closer consideration. In Barthes’ words, “I see, I feel, hence I notice, I observe, I think.”²¹⁹ When a photograph captures Barthes’ attention, he lingers over it. “I look at it, I scrutinize it, as if I wanted to know more about the thing or the person it represents.”²²⁰ Recalling Benjamin’s unruly desire, Barthes proceeds through layers of detail to decompose, enlarge and retard in order to enact the knowledge he is looking for.²²¹ As Stephen Ungar has noted, the *punctum* does not possess a functional priority over the *studium*,²²² although it does operate at the determining moment of encounter, pointing instinctively to the margins of the socially controlled. The *punctum*’s primary operational behaviour is selection. Barthes describes the selection of one photograph in *Camera Lucida*, the Winter Garden photograph. Its choice is not a process in which he invests significant emotion or contemplation, but is an indirect and solitary “sorting”.²²³ “I was not sitting down to contemplate them, I was not engulfing myself in them.”²²⁴ Again, Benjamin appears behind Barthes’ shoulder with his distracted attention and strategies of indirection.

When it does take him by surprise, Barthes’ initial encounter with the Winter Garden photograph is physical and material.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 26.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 26-27.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 21.

²²⁰ Ibid., 99.

²²¹ Ibid., 99-100.

²²² Steven Ungar, *Roland Barthes, the Professor of Desire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 140.

²²³ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 63-64.

²²⁴ Ibid.

The photograph was very old. The corners were blunted from having been pasted into an album, the sepia print had faded, and the picture just managed to show two children standing together at the end of a little wooden bridge in a glassed-in conservatory²²⁵

He considers the photograph first as an object, then proceeds to picture content, including a consideration of its poor quality, and from there introduces external information. French social history, personal and family details, photographic conventions, and, once again echoing Benjamin, events that were still in the future at the time the photograph was made, are all projected into Barthes' discussion to help him build the photograph he wants to find.²²⁶ The outcome of this process is Barthes' discovery of what he considers to be his mother's essence – an abstraction generated by the material contingency of the photograph that satisfies the demands of his grief.²²⁷ This interpretive journey confirms a methodology in which *punctum* gives way to *studium* and where the material photograph gives rise to imagining rather than a fixed answer.

Barthes does not name a *punctum* in the Winter Garden photograph but, like Benjamin's sparks and dialectical images, the *punctum* is often located in a detail, a partial object. It is personal to Barthes but is not a matter of taste, being potentially "ill-born" or ugly.²²⁸ While the *studium* is primarily a generative opportunity for the photographer,²²⁹ the *punctum* is a device of the viewer,

... like a supplement that is at once inevitable and delightful; it does not necessarily attest to the photographer's art; it says only that the photographer was there, or else, still more simply, that he could not *not* photograph the partial object at the same time as the total object ...²³⁰

Neither wholly part of the photograph nor external to it, the *punctum* "... is what I add ... and *what is nonetheless already there*."²³¹ Once again, Barthes recalls Benjamin's

²²⁵ Ibid., 67.

²²⁶ Ibid., 67, 69.

²²⁷ Ibid., 69-70.

²²⁸ Ibid., 43-45.

²²⁹ Ibid., 47.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid., 55.

desire to seek out detail beyond the control of the photographer, his evocation of chance constellations of detail, and also his notion of immanence, the idea that a viewer may draw out meanings subtly loaded within an object but unrecognised at its inception.²³²

However, the *punctum* need not be part of the picture. In *Camera Lucida*'s second section, the 'Palinode', Barthes introduces time as the source of the photographic *punctum*.²³³ Recalling the perceptual upheaval wrought by Benjamin's photographic time, Barthes proposes a paradoxical simultaneity in every photograph – "*This will be and this has been...*" – speaking of death and specifically his own mortality.²³⁴ This "... vertigo of time defeated ..." ²³⁵ is condensed in historical photographs and a photograph's date takes on particular importance for Barthes because it allows him to anchor it in time, and specifically in lifetimes.²³⁶

Photographs also bring literal emanations of the past into the present.

From a real body, which was there, proceed radiations which ultimately touch me, who am here A sort of umbilical cord links the body of the photographed thing to my gaze...²³⁷

This experience is particularly acute when viewing a negative, or a unique photograph such as a daguerreotype, in whose surface chemistry is registered the reflection of light directly from the body of the target. Similarly, a fingerprint registered in the emulsion of a photograph provides a physical link between the current viewer (holder) and an unseen predecessor. Even a paper print, arranged or composed in an album or frame, marked or defaced, carries with it the aspirations of those who have gone before. These often inadvertent interventions may spark the viewer's interest and

²³² Barthes suggests in *Camera Lucida* that "... [T]he *punctum* could accommodate a certain latency (but never any scrutiny)." Ibid. For a discussion of Benjamin's notion of immanent critique, see McCole, *Walter Benjamin and the Antinomies of Tradition*, 89-103.

²³³ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 96.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid., 97.

²³⁶ Ibid., 87 check or 96.

²³⁷ Ibid., 80-81.

draw the *punctum* beyond the visual detail of the represented. As Jacques Derrida has suggested,

... the punctum radiates and ... lends itself to metonymy. As soon as it allows itself to be drawn into a system of substitutions, it can invade everything, objects as well as affects.²³⁸

Indeed, the *punctum* may not arise in the presence of the photograph at all. Returning to *Camera Lucida*,

... [S]ometimes, despite its clarity, the *punctum* [is] revealed only after the fact, when the photograph is no longer in front of me and I think back on it. I may know better a photograph I remember than a photograph I am looking at...

Ultimately – or at the limit – in order to see a photograph well, it is best to look away or close your eyes. ... The photograph touches me if I withdraw from its usual blah-blah: “Technique,” “Reality,” “Reportage,” “Art,” etc. to say nothing, to shut my eyes to allow the detail to rise of its own accord into affective consciousness.²³⁹

The photographic *punctum* may be evoked from a memory image. The *punctum* is fleeting, gone before it is known, but the form it takes in later thought will reveal the source of the ‘prick’, whether or not this is accurate to the picture content. In this way, the *punctum* also refers to the notion of truth within and around photographs, exposing them as sites of potential self delusion and fabrication. The *studium* asks the viewer to aspire to impossible abstractions, and the consciously evoked *punctum* allows insight into those aspirations, or at least charts their journey from instinct to expression. This point is made in *Camera Lucida* around the Winter Garden photograph. As it is not illustrated, it is possible to speculate that it never existed except in the imaginations of Barthes and his readers. The existence or not of the photograph does not frustrate our ability to think with it. Photographs are now so embedded in modes of being that even the idea of one is strong enough to give rise to photographic thinking.

²³⁸ Jacques Derrida, "The Deaths of Roland Barthes," in *Philosophy and Non-Philosophy since Merleau-Ponty*, ed. Hugh J. Silverman, *Continental Philosophy ; 1* (London: Routledge, 1988), 285.

²³⁹ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 53-55.

Margaret Olin considers Barthes' (perhaps intentional) misidentification of a *punctum* detail in another photograph discussed in *Camera Lucida* – a pearl necklace becomes a gold necklace that reminds Barthes of his deceased aunt.²⁴⁰ He revises this detail when the photograph is no longer before him. It is something he wishes were there, a means of making the photograph be what he wants it to be. Thinking with photographs may take place after the encounter with the object, and error, oversight, intentional misrepresentation and intellectual progression may all intervene to divert this thinking from the literal content of the picture. This has significant implications for the long-held notion of photographic truth. As Olin argues,

If the *punctum* is displaced, like an alibi, then the detail that is not there, the 'that-has-been,' never was. And neither was the indexical power of the photograph. The fact that something was before the camera when the photograph was taken is no longer unproblematically the source of the photograph's power. ... The fact that something is in front of the camera matters; what that something was does not. What matters is displaced.²⁴¹

Yet again, Barthes and Olin point to the real value of photographs lying outside of their content. The presence of things before the camera continues to hold associative value but it is the interaction with a photograph, or even with the idea of a photograph, that carries the greatest power. The functional properties of the *studium* were the photographer's alibis, and the *punctum* emerges as the alibi of the viewer – an instinctive means by which to layer his or her own intent onto a pre-existing object.

Olin concludes,

A reading of *Camera Lucida* suggests that the most significant indexical power of the photograph may consequently lie not in the relation between the photograph and its subject but in the relation between the photograph and its beholder, or user, in what I would like to call a 'performative index,' or an 'index of identification'.²⁴²

The photographic index is not a semantic or taxonomic one, but a pointer towards behaviours, both physical and attitudinal. Thinking with photographs is about

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 53.

²⁴¹ Olin, "Touching Photographs: Roland Barthes's 'Mistaken' Identification," 84.

situating ourselves in relation to other people and the world around us. It is not important to ask whether these behaviours are right or wrong, true or false. It is the fact that they take place that is significant. As Olin suggests, we misidentify people and we misidentify *with* them, making them what we want them to be. And in this way, Barthes' naive viewer might be everyone who interacts with photographs, a behaviour which can only ever be relational.²⁴³

In terms of thinking with photographs, the *punctum* is the decisive moment before. It is the physical and personal reaction that asks an individual to stop and look, calling out "this one" from the millions of photographs available. It provides a means of breaking through the vast array of detail that surrounds a group of photographs, and in any given group there may be one, several or no photographs that operate in this way for a particular viewer. It allows personal response, alongside a synecdochic construction of photographic meaning, to become a valid means of moving forward from the stasis of the densely prolific photographic mass. As Batchen has commented, the *punctum* also demonstrates that the personal must be taken seriously as a field within which the political operates.²⁴⁴

3.4 Summary

The form of thinking with photographs established by recent writing bears many similarities to the perceptual mode argued by Benjamin and Barthes. These two highly influential writers consider photographic meaning to be collective, discontinuous and shifting, and retain a place for the physical and the material in the photographic experience. They explore various strategies and structures for approaching photographs, affirming a stance that is questioning, subjectively inspired, internally and externally relational, open to chance, generative and inexhaustive. They push away from a literal reading of picture content towards external networks as

²⁴² Ibid., 85.

²⁴³ Ibid., 85-86.

²⁴⁴ Batchen, "Camera Lucida: Another Little History of Photography," 265.

the most valuable source of insight, emphasising the behavioural and performative aspects of photographs as sites of ritual. They also overtly seek to hold in balance a critical approach to the ideological operation of the everyday, and the validity of individual response, which must be incorporated into the shape and implementation of thinking with photographs.

However, while Benjamin and Barthes work within the context of mass culture and are aware of photographs as massed objects, their discussions essentially remain limited to close considerations of individual photographs. They do not seek the interstices of the photographic collective, a challenge which is daunting if only for the great complexity of detail it entails. Kenneth Burke's emphasis on the performance of human networks of identification may enable this complexity to be incorporated into thinking with photographs and I will now turn to his work in order to coalesce a portable and discursively relevant model for this purpose.

4 A new approach: thinking photographs with

Burke

Like Benjamin and Barthes, Kenneth Burke is concerned with the insidious operation of ideology in everyday life and with transcendent meaning. His goal is to provide a means of mediating the constructed and the subjective. Burke's approach amasses and sifts the *studium* detail of rhetorical activity in order to realise the instinctive behaviour that gave rise to it, or, to continue the Barthes analogy, to bring into view the operation of the *punctum*. While Barthes' analytical journey may have been cut short at a point where subjective reaction had, arguably, become his overriding concern, Burke continues to emphasise the power and responsibility of the enquirer to act ethically and with self awareness within a complex of rhetorical networks to frame reactions that are conciliatory and progressive. Frank Lentricchia has commented,

Burke performs about as thorough an act of what is now called 'deconstruction' as is possible, but when he is finished ... he has ... relocated the 'free' subject within a system that is now understood in a more complex fashion ... humanism is understood in the widest context - it is seen as having a constraining context, which is precisely what humanism can never admit about itself.²⁴⁵

This chapter outlines Burke's work and the operation of his pentad of dramatic analysis, considering how these might be applied to photographs in general and to photographs initiated in early twentieth-century Antarctica in particular. Within the context of the preceding discussion, I would like to suggest that Burke's pentad thinks photographically. It operates instinctively and transcendentally around an axis of detail and form. It emphasises thinking as collective, shifting and multi-perspectival. It oscillates from one point of view to another, and back again, while maintaining a common conceptual frame and, ultimately, it disappears behind what it produces,

²⁴⁵ Frank Lentricchia, "Reading History with Kenneth Burke," in *Representing Kenneth Burke*, ed. Hayden V. White and Margaret Brose, *Selected Papers from the English Institute ; New Ser., No. 6* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 136-37.

leaving the enquirer's meanings, immanent at the outset, to stand as evidence that it existed. The pentad works through and in networks outside of itself and is made from and for rhetorical acts. Like photographs, the pentad creates a behavioural and intellectual field around which things can happen. On the surface the pentad may appear unremarkable, even obvious, but so are photographs and there is clearly much more to them. The pentad is not about feeding in a set of data and producing 'the' answer, but about creating an intellectual opportunity within a degree of structure and an awareness of the undertaking at hand.

Kenneth Burke's corpus spans two thirds of the twentieth century. He appears to be as well known in the United States as he is invisible in mid-century European discourse. Born in Pennsylvania 1897, he began his university studies in 1916, as Benjamin was studying for his doctorate, as Barthes was completing his first year of life, and as Joyce was at the most intense point of his final Antarctic expedition. Burke was a contemporary of Benjamin who lived (and continued to lecture and publish) longer than Barthes. He dealt with issues, attitudes and methodologies that are remarkably similar to the two writers already discussed, although I have found no previous commentary that brings the three together. What Burke did not deal with explicitly was photographs.

In the late 1980s, Herbert Simons described Burke as a "... forerunner of French structuralism, prefashionable deconstructionist, and founder of a movement to reconceive human sciences in rhetorical terms."²⁴⁶ He also noted, however, that Burke can be undisciplined, eccentric, seemingly tautological and frustratingly, though for Simons intentionally, inconsistent.²⁴⁷ Cary Nelson, meanwhile, stated

It is with poststructuralism, ... and ... with figures like Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida, playful, posing, and problematizing of categories that

²⁴⁶ Herbert W. Simons, "Kenneth Burke and the Rhetoric of the Human Sciences," in *The Legacy of Kenneth Burke*, ed. Kenneth Burke, Herbert W. Simons, and Trevor Melia, *Rhetoric of the Human Sciences* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 4.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

Burke's work finds its most true homology and its most fitting basis for comparison and contrast.²⁴⁸

William Rueckert concluded similarly, "Like Derrida and Barthes, Burke likes to deconstruct himself."²⁴⁹ While James Chesebro has commented that, since its introduction in journals of the discipline of speech communication in the 1950s, Burke's analytical system has been "... employed in virtually every area of communication ..."²⁵⁰ including theatre, analyses of murder and suicide, television series, feminist rhetoric and social movements.²⁵¹ To date, as far as can be established, it has not been applied to photographs.

In 1941, Harry Slochower identified in Burke's work a fusion of Marx and Freud, and an attempt to unite the poetic and the practical,²⁵² an approach which resonates with the two levels of photographic meaning argued by Benjamin and Barthes. Burke's mediating construct is rhetoric and, like the other two writers, his objective is that "... we become aware of the ways in which we are the victims of our own and one another's magic."²⁵³ As Bernard Brock explains, Burke's approach is structured around two concepts, identification and the pentad,²⁵⁴ which Burke proposes as a

²⁴⁸ Cary Nelson, "Writing as the Accomplice of Language: Kenneth Burke and Poststructuralism," in *The Legacy of Kenneth Burke*, ed. Kenneth Burke, Herbert W. Simons, and Trevor Melia, *Rhetoric of the Human Sciences* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 171.

²⁴⁹ William H. Rueckert, *Kenneth Burke and the Drama of Human Relations*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 239.

²⁵⁰ Dennis J Ciesielski, "'Secular Pragmatism': Kenneth Burke and the [Re]Socialization of Literature and Theory," in *Kenneth Burke and Contemporary European Thought : Rhetoric in Transition*, ed. Bernard L. Brock, *Studies in Rhetoric and Communication*. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995), 167.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Harry Slochower, "Kenneth Burke's Philosophy of Symbolic Action," in *Critical Responses to Kenneth Burke, 1924-1966*, ed. William H. Rueckert (Minneapolis,: University of Minnesota Press, 1969), 130, 33.

²⁵³ Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives* (Berkeley,: University of California Press, 1969), 442.

²⁵⁴ David S Birdsell, "Ronald Reagan on Lebanon and Grenada: Flexibility and Interpretation in the Application of Kenneth Burke's Pentad," in *Methods of Rhetorical Criticism : A Twentieth-Century Perspective*, ed. Bernard L. Brock, Robert Lee Scott, and James W. Chesebro (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 186.

means to unveil the rhetorical operation of human acts as a preliminary to transcendent insight.

4.1 Burke's overarching concept of identification

4.1.1 First principles: Dramatism, rhetoric and symbolic action

At the core of Burke's complex and prolific writing lies an enduring enquiry into human motivation. His 1945 *A Grammar of Motives*, which introduces the pentad, is framed by its frequently quoted opening sentence, "What is involved when we say what people are doing and why they are doing it?"²⁵⁵ Like Benjamin and Barthes, Burke's interest is in perception and the generation of meaning, expressed by Burke as a consideration of motivation.

Burke named his theory dramatism, which "... invites one to consider the matter of motives in a perspective that, being developed from the analysis of drama, treats language and thought primarily as modes of action."²⁵⁶ Dramatism draws the operation of meaning beyond language to a broad range of gestures, assemblages, objects and decisions employed by humans in their interaction. As Mark McPhail states, "... human beings are by nature dramatic, and ... reality is something we *do*."²⁵⁷ Dramatism's concern is "... the essential medium of ... the posturing, tonalizing body placed in a material scene..."²⁵⁸ and Burke's objective is to consider the motivations that underlie this 'doing' of human existence, recalling the theatricality discerned by Edwards and others in the performance of photographs.

We sought to formulate the basic stratagems which people employ, in endless variations, and consciously or unconsciously, for the outwitting and cajoling

²⁵⁵ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, xv.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., xxii.

²⁵⁷ Ciesielski, "'Secular Pragmatism': Kenneth Burke and the [Re]Socialization of Literature and Theory," 79-80.

²⁵⁸ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 507.

of one another. Since all these devices had a 'you and me' quality about them, being 'addressed' to some person or to some advantage, we classed them broadly under the heading of a Rhetoric.²⁵⁹

James Rountree has argued that Burke's drama is not something we can turn off. It is impossible to 'go backstage' or to view the self presentations made to influence the interpretations of actions in objective isolation. Rhetorical motivations will also populate any interpretive outcome.²⁶⁰

Burke also stresses that "[t]he rhetorical motive is often present where it is not generally recognised or thought to belong"²⁶¹ making the seemingly impartial, the everyday and the taken for granted rich sources of rhetorical activity. As James Klumpp states, "The most powerful social forms are those that are performed with such a familiar rhetoric that those living with the form have ceased to sense the language of its performance as rhetorical."²⁶² The vast majority of photographs, bound by convention and rendered unremarkable by their profusion, fit well with this construction. Gregory Clark explicitly extends Burke's rhetoric to pictures when he argues,

Whether communication occurs as immediate talk or in one of the displaced forms of talk that is text – script, print, graphic image – it engages people in an ongoing rhetorical process of constituting a sense of self in relation to others.²⁶³

In this way, he also contends, rhetoric is no longer inherently oppositional, but more commonly deployed as a device for collective identification.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ Ibid., xvii.

²⁶⁰ J Clarke Rountree, "Coming to Terms with Kenneth Burke's Pentad," *American Communication Journal* 1, no. 3 (1998): 6.

²⁶¹ Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (Berkeley,: University of California Press, 1969), xiii.

²⁶² Ciesielski, "'Secular Pragmatism': Kenneth Burke and the [Re]Socialization of Literature and Theory," 223.

²⁶³ Gregory Clark, *Rhetorical Landscapes in America : Variations on a Theme from Kenneth Burke, Studies in Rhetoric/Communication* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 13.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 15.

Dramatism considers human actions to be uniquely purposive, distinct from the unmotivated motion produced in other spheres. Burke famously describes humans as symbol-using animals.²⁶⁵

... [W]hen we use symbols for things, such symbols are not merely reflections symbolized, or signs for them; they are to a degree a *transcending* of the things symbolized. So, to say that man is a symbol-using animal is by the *same token to say* that he is a 'transcending animal.'²⁶⁶

The transcendent insight at the core of Burke's approach makes the unanticipated part of his enquiry from the outset, and the site around which Burke's transcendence occurs is the consideration of motive. In Andrew King's words,

As Burke used to say, 'in our black dog times, we need a sky hook.' The sky hook is motive. It names our actions. It gives them significant form But motive also expresses our identity for our tribe, our enemies, and for posterity.

In Burke's world we experience the fall from Edenic grace over and over and over. The charisma of motive (naming and re-naming) is our sky hook, our deliverance from the chaos of the existential moment. ...

Motive is what smuggles the divine and the transcendent into the material and the secular.²⁶⁷

Burke has described symbolic action as "... *the dancing of an attitude...*"²⁶⁸

When we talk, write, wear clothes, eat foods, make love, make war, and perform the many acts of daily life we give expression to our perception of ourselves, of others, and of the world around us. We define the situations in which we act and state our relation to them – in clothing, hairstyle and argot.²⁶⁹

The continual revision wrought by the uniquely human acts of naming, discussing, interpreting and generally 'doing' reality, semantically or in other expressive forms,

²⁶⁵ Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, 192.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Andrew King, "Motive," *American Communication Journal* 1, no. 3 (1998): unpaginated.

²⁶⁸ Kenneth Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form; Studies in Symbolic Action*, 2d ed. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 9.

²⁶⁹ Joseph R. Gusfield, "The Bridge over Separated Lands: Kenneth Burke's Significance for the Study of Social Action," in *The Legacy of Kenneth Burke*, ed. Kenneth Burke, Herbert W. Simons, and Trevor Melia, *Rhetoric of the Human Sciences* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 33.

drives human beings on, absolving them of their failure to measure up to their own impossible abstractions, and providing a (probably equally impossible) hope that one day a name might be found which is achievable and reconcilable. This is Burke's process of identification, a sharing of hope, expressed in pedestrian symbolism, but arising out of another drive that is transcendent, experiential and instinctive, aligning his thinking neatly with the twofold operation of photographs discussed in Chapter three.

4.1.2 *Networks of aspiration*

Burke's identification includes the "... material and mental ways of placing oneself as a person in ... groups and movements; ... one's ways of seeing one's reflection in the social mirror."²⁷⁰ There are obvious resonances here with Barthes' symbolic meaning and particularly with the act of posing for the memory mirror of the photograph. Burke's identification operates at a high level of abstraction, expressed in terms such as mystification, courtship and magic.²⁷¹ For him it is the reaching out, from a state of biological isolation, that is important rather than the success or failure of any particular persuasive agenda.²⁷²

Paul Jay notes that Burke asks us to look for mystification "... at any point where conceptual language presents an interpretation of reality as a reflection of reality ...",²⁷³ another neat alignment with the superficial notion of photographs as unmediated analogy. Burke finds identification expressed in "... any embarrassment or self imposed constraint..."²⁷⁴ in communication. He considers that "... any kind of 'stage fright' is evidence of social mystery. Thus the coy relations between performer and audience show endless variants of mystification."²⁷⁵ A photographic performance

²⁷⁰ Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form; Studies in Symbolic Action*, 227.

²⁷¹ Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, xiv.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, xiii.

²⁷³ Paul Jay, "Kenneth Burke and the Motives of Rhetoric," *American Literary History* 1, no. 3 (1989): 545.

²⁷⁴ Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, 208.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 209.

might constitute such an expression of identification, the question being who is the audience – the camera, the photographer, or, on more risky ground for the performer, the generations of viewers yet to be born for whom this photograph may endure? Once the potential for identification is recognised, it is employed by individuals in ever more complex ways to build and disseminate social networks and values,²⁷⁶ and it is this haze of interaction that Burke, like Benjamin, urges us to lay bare in order to challenge the operation of ideology. However, it is important to remember that for Burke the machinations of identification are preliminaries to the real work of attitudinal transcendence.

Brooke Quigley has also commented that Burke's identification may occur at personal or community levels, or through mass media and diffuse audiences.²⁷⁷ Photography is part of human interaction at both levels, operating within domestic environments and across geographical, cultural and chronological space. Quigley proposes three types of identification in Burke:

1. semi-conscious self persuasion
2. the mundane and recurring
3. representation, where the audience might vicariously share the role and transformations of a leader or other person/s who go in our stead.²⁷⁸

All three forms operate around photographs, as can be exemplified by photographs taken on early Antarctic expeditions. Self persuasion occurs to the extent that a viewer suspends disbelief to absorb the messages carried by the photograph and the picture. Photographs are copious and mundane objects, with recurring and predictable picture and object forms, but heroic-era Antarctic photographs are also part of something extraordinary and offer the viewer a vicarious participation in these undertakings.

²⁷⁶ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 236-37.

²⁷⁷ Brooke L Quigley, "'Identification' as a Key Term in Kenneth Burke's Rhetorical Theory," *American Communication Journal* 1, no. 3 (1998): unpaginated.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*: unpaginated.

Among the recent works to use Burke's methodologies is Gregory Clark's consideration of the rhetorical functioning of the American landscape.²⁷⁹ People commonly identify with place and in so doing, Clark argues, fail to distinguish between things and symbols,²⁸⁰ so that the thing symbolised takes on the qualities attached to it by the functioning of the rhetorical imagery. This reversal calls to mind and makes experiential Benjamin's and Barthes' contentions that photographs have reversed the relationship between text and image and in *Language as Symbolic Action* Burke goes so far as to suggest that "[t]hings are the signs of words."²⁸¹ He explains,

The things of nature, as so conceived, become a vast pageantry of social-verbal masques and costumes and guildlike mysteries, not just a world of sheer natural objects, but a parade of spirits, quite as the grass on a college campus has its meaning for us, not just as physical grass, but because of its nature as symbolic of the processes and social values associated with the order of formal education. In a subtler way, it is suggested, all nonverbal 'nature' is in this sense not just itself for man, the word-using animal; rather, for man, nature is emblematic of the spirit imposed upon it by man's linguistic genius.²⁸²

In this way, photographs may perceptually become the things they represent, particularly when this is a remote time or place, like early twentieth-century Antarctica. As Clark comments,

Land becomes landscape when it is assigned the role of symbol, and as symbol it functions rhetorically. When landscapes are publicized – when they are shared in public discourse or in the nondiscursive form of what I am calling public experience – they do the rhetorical work of symbolizing a common home and, thus, a common identity.²⁸³

While commonality might be found in landscape, the other side of this persuasive act is exclusion. Antarctica has no trees or plants, very few buildings, minimal colour, and unaccustomed and extreme routines of daylight and darkness. It is an ongoing

²⁷⁹ Clark, *Rhetorical Landscapes in America : Variations on a Theme from Kenneth Burke*.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 2.

²⁸¹ Kenneth Burke, *Language as Symbolic Action; Essays on Life, Literature, and Method* (Berkeley,: University of California Press, 1968), 360.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Clark, *Rhetorical Landscapes in America : Variations on a Theme from Kenneth Burke*, 9.

‘home’ to no human and operates more as an ‘other’ against which a common identity may be negotiated.

The negating aspects of identification become the driving force in this rhetorical process in two ways. Antarctica is the ‘other’ for all humans, marked occasionally by the detritus of humanity’s endeavours to overcome its exclusion by layering buildings, animals, footprints, cargo, vehicles and itself uncomfortably upon and into the continent’s shifting surface. On the other hand, all of this does create a home of sorts for the small number of people who will be present physically in this place, a group which in the early years of the twentieth century could be numbered in the low hundreds. This process establishes a small experiential elite, relegating everyone else to mediated and vicarious participation. The relief layer of common signification imposed by the depiction of ‘ordinary’ activities and objects in Antarctic photographs, including the activities and objects of photography itself, operates both to hook and to exclude the ‘outsider’, completing the double-edged sword of identification through exclusion.

In international terms, Antarctica may function rhetorically in a similar way to Clark’s construction of Yellowstone National Park for the USA. It is a common ground to which all may lay claim but which none can own privately. This claim is not to land, but to landscape, and not to territory but to identification.²⁸⁴ The abstraction is heightened for Antarctica since few will visit the place but all may participate in the rhetoric that surrounds it, particularly through photographs. In the general consciousness, Antarctica effectively is a photograph and any photograph of Antarctica is construed by the values that adhere to the place.

In *The Philosophy of Literary Form* Burke contends that rhetoric functions through identification to encourage the reader to make him or herself over in the image of the

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 71.

imagery.²⁸⁵ In this sense, photographs may proceed from attitudinal transformation to physical, as viewers may be moved to restage or emulate the forms and events depicted, either in their own photography or in wider life. Here photography becomes an actor in its own drama. Because photography exists, we take photographs. Because photographs exist, we retake certain types of photographs in their likeness, and these photographic behaviours may even colonise our extra-photographic lives. As Richard B Gregg comments, “In our time the images of celebrities, whether athletes, entertainers, or politicians, have come to stand for visions of reality.”²⁸⁶ Photographic pictures are a vicarious reality, literally removed but attached, in contemporary minds, as a seamless veneer to their referents, and as land is transformed into landscape by symbolic enactment, so human beings are abstracted to exemplars in visual communication.

While Clark does not explicitly discuss the rhetorical power of photographs, he does consider the comforting power of the framed view to distil and regularise the experience of place. Recalling a visit to the observation deck of the Indian Watchtower at Desert View, Grand Canyon, he writes,

...[I] tried to appreciate and comprehend the view that surrounded me there. But like everyone else there, I was soon attracted to the reflectoscopes and joined the lines waiting to look at the view through them. Surrounded as we were by the incomprehensible panorama of the place, we waited together to encounter the landscape for ourselves in precisely the same eight ways.²⁸⁷

As Benjamin predicted, the fragment has become our favoured information source, and fragments which are generated and repeated through optical framing devices provide the security of knowing that everyone’s enduring perception of this vast place will be based on the same shared visual fragments. The vastness and incomprehensibility of the Antarctic landscape may well have received a similar

²⁸⁵ Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form; Studies in Symbolic Action*, 281.

²⁸⁶ Richard B Gregg, “Kenneth Burke’s Concept of Rhetorical Negativity,” in *Extensions of the Burkeian System*, ed. James W. Chesebro (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993), 193.

²⁸⁷ Clark, *Rhetorical Landscapes in America : Variations on a Theme from Kenneth Burke*, 160.

treatment through photography during the early years of human presence there, effectively drawing up an aesthetic insurance policy which renders the sublime a manageable series of recognisable sites and features.

Identification is not limited to temporally or physically concurrent situations. Like Benjamin's auratic transmission of culture, identification may carry values and aspirations across time and place. Like both Benjamin and Barthes, Burke is particularly concerned with human attempts to relate to the past, a process which he describes in *The Philosophy of Literary Form* as an unending conversation.²⁸⁸ For Carole Blair, Burke's history "...is essentially documentary, in that societies universally define themselves by their discursive choices."²⁸⁹ She suggests that he treats historical documents [which may include photographs] as sites of motives and symbolic transformations with the power to enact change. However, she also believes that Burke's appropriation by speech communication has meant that the potential for his work in treating with the past has been under-explored.²⁹⁰ She notes that Burke considers themes that unify history to be oversimplified analogical extensions.²⁹¹ "Because two things are found to possess a trait in common which our point of view considers notable, we take the common notable trait to indicate identity of character."²⁹² The notion of an heroic era of Antarctic exploration, then, would *prima facie* operate as an oversimplification of the activities it represents, suggesting that other perspectives and other stories may provide richer insights.

Methodologically, Burke advocates that in order to understand the full nature of the object of study, it is necessary to use whatever knowledge is available, including the

²⁸⁸ Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form; Studies in Symbolic Action*, 110-11.

²⁸⁹ Carole Blair, "Symbolic Action and Discourse: The Convergent/Divergent Views of Kenneth Burke and Michel Foucault," in *Kenneth Burke and Contemporary European Thought : Rhetoric in Transition*, ed. Bernard L. Brock, *Studies in Rhetoric and Communication*. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995), 146-47.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 152.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 148.

²⁹² Kenneth Burke, *Permanence and Change : An Anatomy of Purpose*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 97.

relationship between the creator and the object, and the object and its broader social context. The creator's life and events in it at the time are relevant²⁹³ as might be letters, diaries and wider information about the context in which the object was made.²⁹⁴ He also notes, however, that it is impossible to use everything that might conceivably be relevant, so the interpreter needs to have a clear purpose in mind and select from the available resources accordingly.²⁹⁵ Burke also recognises that the historian's own interests are at play in the interpretive process, advocating a kind of self-conscious estrangement in which the critic "... must violate the tenor of one's own culture ...",²⁹⁶ recalling Barthes' attempts in *Camera Lucida* to put aside his intellectual and social conditioning.

Calling to mind Edwards and Hart's construction of object, and specifically photograph, biographies, Frank Lentricchia considers that Burke

... is proposing a kind of genealogical approach to history that would situate itself between the misleading fictions of sheer synchrony and a sheer diachrony; an approach so situated, with key structural coordinates enmeshed in historic texture, could properly be charged neither with the reductions of structuralism ... nor with the vaporization of history in the name of Derrideanism.²⁹⁷

Lentricchia clearly sees a place for Burke's methodology in relieving some of the tensions and impasses resulting from the work of Barthes and his contemporaries, tensions and impasses which were augured in Benjamin's writing.

Andrew King has concluded similarly,

Only a world in which we could go for decades believing and practicing nonsense could have produced post modernism. Only homeless ungrounded intellectuals could formulate the belief that they constructed reality through language. ... Burke believed that the present world was [a] world of sentimentality, a world in which people invested their feelings in material

²⁹³ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 451.

²⁹⁴ Kenneth Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form: Studies in Symbolic Action*, 3rd ed. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), 23.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 260.

²⁹⁶ Burke, *Permanence and Change : An Anatomy of Purpose*, 107.

²⁹⁷ Lentricchia, "Reading History with Kenneth Burke," 135.

objects, and believed that their wishes and their hopes would transform the universe.

Burke was not focused upon system building or tool making or any of the other things most Burkeians value. ... Burke wanted to discover the social motive. He attempted to do this by describing the cultural discourse of the nation. And as every good Burkeian knows, cultural discourse was not about the explicit forms of argument, issues or topoi; on the contrary, it was the unconscious set of beliefs that lie too deep for explicit examination. It was the basis of what he meant by identification.

... For Burke, our cultural discourse elevated feelings to data, mass sentiment to evidence, and equated security with growth. ...

Burke's 'tools' were simply methods of unmasking and making visible this discourse.²⁹⁸

4.1.3 *Recurring patterns and tropes: the scapegoat and irony*

Burke detects certain enduring patterns in human behaviour which he believes outline the operation of identification. He also argues, however, that these patterns may be obscured in a world view dominated by ideologies which over-emphasise a rational, technical, mechanical or capitalist orientation,²⁹⁹ recalling the dislocation of creator and output characterised by Benjamin in the operation of the aura. Identification may also occur through larger scale myths, not necessarily perceived to be true but endorsing a collectively evoked spirit.³⁰⁰ The notion that the period of early human presence in Antarctica is somehow 'heroic' clearly is one such collective myth and, as Quigley comments, "Burke would have us be on the lookout for such invitations to identify through familiar and attractive forms."³⁰¹

²⁹⁸ Andrew King, "Disciplining the Master: Finding the Via Media for Kenneth Burke," *American Communication Journal* 4, no. 2 (2001): unpaginated.

²⁹⁹ Rueckert, *Kenneth Burke and the Drama of Human Relations*, 18-20, 35.

³⁰⁰ Quigley, "'Identification' as a Key Term in Kenneth Burke's Rhetorical Theory," unpaginated., citing Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, 58.

³⁰¹ Quigley, "'Identification' as a Key Term in Kenneth Burke's Rhetorical Theory," unpaginated.

For Chris Allen Carter the main recurring pattern Burke finds in both literature and life is surrogate victimage,

... whereby those who feel guilty or inferior or mortal heap their sense of sin or weakness or vulnerability on someone or something else, drive that chosen one from their circle, and then feel renewed.³⁰²

Scapegoating is closely related to Burke's notion of inevitable hierarchy, which James Klumpp argues is probably the most controversial element of Burke's work for the contemporary reader.³⁰³ For Burke, thinking hierarchically and always seeking abstract perfection are fundamental human behaviours, the complement of which is a set of attitudes revolving around the impossibility of achieving these ideals, manifested in guilt and the attitudinal and functional negative. Mortification and victimage are the forms of ritual purification that Burke proposes to resolve this impasse.³⁰⁴

Burke's scapegoating is purposive,

... in aiming at self-purification by the unburdening of one's sins, ritualistically, with the goat as charismatic, as the chosen vessel of iniquity, whereby one can have the experience of punishing in alienated form the evil which one would otherwise be forced to recognize within.³⁰⁵

It involves a three-stage transformational process. From an original state of merger, in which all share common iniquities, the goat is alienated in an act of division and made to atone in some way for the guilt of the group. Finally, the purified scapegoat is reintegrated into the group, somehow transformed by this atonement process.³⁰⁶

Where the division is manifested in the death of the goat, the reincorporation cannot be literal. However, photographs provide a means of reintegrating the 'fallen'

³⁰² Chris Allen Carter, *Kenneth Burke and the Scapegoat Process, Oklahoma Project for Discourse and Theory* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 109.

³⁰³ James F Klumpp, "Burkean Social Hierarchy and the Ironic Investment of Martin Luther King," in *Kenneth Burke and Contemporary European Thought : Rhetoric in Transition*, ed. Bernard L. Brock, *Studies in Rhetoric and Communication*. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995), 209.

³⁰⁴ Jane Rise Samra, "Guilt, Purification, and Redemption," *American Communication Journal* 1, no. 3 (1998): unpaginated.

³⁰⁵ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 301.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 406.

member into the framing of experience. The scapegoat image may be overt or may be unrecognised by its creators and in this way may enter into the burlesquing of its own content,³⁰⁷ particularly by later audiences, as Benjamin demonstrated by parodying the intended messages of nineteenth century studio photographs.³⁰⁸

A number of potential human scapegoats readily emerge in photographs from early Antarctic expeditions. The victim *par excellence* must be Titus Oates, who infamously decided to end his own life, ostensibly to improve the chances of survival for the other members of his party on their return from the South Pole during the *Terra Nova* expedition. Less well known are Aeneas Mackintosh and Victor Hayward who were never seen again after departing on an apparently foolhardy attempt to reach the Cape Evans base during the *Aurora*'s Ross Sea expedition, shortly after having been nursed back to health by their comrades. While photographs of these exact events almost certainly do not exist, a sense of the scapegoat drama might be discerned by asking how these individuals and events around these times are treated in photographs, and how the knowledge of later users, aware of the outcomes and, for Burke, also inherently motivated to seek, construct and express their own scapegoat images, contribute to the layering of meaning around them.

In the abstraction of comedy, meanwhile, Hugh Dalziel Duncan notes, "The comic hero, the clown, offers hopes for the development of a scapegoat who need not be tortured and killed in ritual"³⁰⁹ Comedy provides an opportunity for the cathartic drive to be played out in conceptual terms. In acknowledging and exaggerating

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 301-02.

³⁰⁸ Benjamin, "Little History of Photography," 515.

³⁰⁹ Hugh Dalziel Duncan, "A Sociological Model of Social Interaction as Determined by Communication," in *Critical Responses to Kenneth Burke, 1924-1966*, ed. William H. Rueckert (Minneapolis,: University of Minnesota Press, 1969), 356.

human foibles, the comic enables people to view themselves acting, and in this sense it provides maximum self consciousness.³¹⁰

The comic may also be invoked through the trope of irony. In *Attitudes Towards History*, Burke introduces the "... bureaucratization of the imaginative ..."³¹¹ or, as Star Muir puts it, "If you start out with a dream, Burke says, and you organize it, categorize it, translate it, you necessarily get something else."³¹² This again brings to mind the two ways of the photograph, and points to Burke's goal of preserving a distinction between means and ends, data and inspiration. It is also where irony comes into play. For Burke, when bureaucratic processing runs amok rationality becomes a caricature of reasonableness³¹³ resulting, in Muir's words, in the "... the ironic embrace of the undesirable to illustrate its undesirability."³¹⁴ This emphasis on gestural overstatement also recalls Benjamin's forefronting of construction as a means to call the analogue into question.

Burke proposes dramatic irony as a key entry point for analysing history.

The progress of humane enlightenment can go no further than in picturing people not as *vicious*, but as *mistaken*. When you add that people are *necessarily* mistaken, that *all* people are exposed to situations in which they must act as fools, that *every* insight contains its own special kind of blindness, you complete the comic circle, returning again to the lesson of humility that underlies great tragedy. The audience, from its vantage point, sees the operation of errors that the characters of the play cannot see; thus seeing from two angles at once, it is chastened by dramatic irony; it is admonished to remember that when intelligence means *wisdom* (in contrast with the modern tendency to look upon intelligence as merely a *coefficient of power* for

³¹⁰ Kenneth Burke, *Attitudes toward History*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 51-52 and 220-21. discussed in Rueckert, *Kenneth Burke and the Drama of Human Relations*, 55.

³¹¹ Burke, *Attitudes toward History*, unpaginated.

³¹² Star A Muir, "On Kenneth Burke and Technology: Human Symbolism and the Advance of Counter-Nature" (PhD, University of Pittsburgh, 1990), 48.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 77.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 75.

heightening our ability to get things, be they good things or bad), it requires fear, resignation, the sense of limits, as an important ingredient.³¹⁵

Here, Burke recalls Olin's discussion of the operation of error as well as Benjamin's emphasis on the interpretive power of non-linear time elapsed. Photographs provide an excellent site for this kind of dramatic ironic engagement with the past, being simultaneously anterior and current, and bringing image and object before an audience potentially aware of how events surrounding their creation have played out. A classic example, in terms of image content from the Antarctic heroic era, are the photographs taken by Scott's party at the South Pole, having struggled for weeks to reach this ultimate goal only to find that the Norwegian group had beaten them to the trophy. On their faces and in their shattered stance, today's viewer sees not only the rigours and disappointments of this journey, but a deeper sense of pathos in the knowledge that all of these men would die on the return march.

Burke's irony also highlights plurality over the desire to identify one 'correct' answer since

...none of the participating 'sub-perspectives' can be treated as either precisely right or precisely wrong. They are all voices, or personalities, or positions, integrally affecting one another.³¹⁶

Phyllis Japp emphasises the value of Burke's irony in destabilising hierarchical power relationships³¹⁷ since "... the critical challenge of Burkean irony is to resist affirmation, to locate alternate positions."³¹⁸ Irony, she argues, works to break down assumptions encoded in terminologies, requiring the reader to challenge the exclusions they imply, to expose the hierarchical mysteries they enshrine, and to open the vocabulary to alternate interpretations.³¹⁹ The dramatic ironic potential of

³¹⁵ Burke, *Attitudes toward History*, 41-42.

³¹⁶ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 512.

³¹⁷ Phyllis M Japp, "Can This Marriage Be Saved? Reclaiming Burke for Feminist Scholarship," in *Kenneth Burke and the 21st Century*, ed. Bernard L. Brock and Kenneth Burke Society. Conference, *Suny Series in Speech Communication*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 118.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 122.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

photographs as well as their overtly satirical or comic elements may act as entry points for recovering voices silenced by overriding ideologies.

Indeed, Bernard Brock suggests the ultimate message that might be taken from Burke is that "...any example of symbol using is simply a perspective competing with other perspective[s] to be accepted as reality."³²⁰ For Denis Ciesielski, "[o]nce we realize that truth lies in a dialogic transaction, that it is dynamic rather than static, we can see it as a tool to further meaning rather than as a set of authorial codes that threaten to stop Burke's 'never-ending conversation' altogether."³²¹

The acknowledgement of interconnecting perspectives points to another of Burke's interpretive concepts, the terministic screen. In *Permanence and Change* he states that "[e]very way of seeing is also a way of not seeing"³²² and in *Language as Symbolic Action* that all vocabularies filter in and out so that it is necessary to consider both what is stated and the silences or absences.³²³ As Richard Gregg comments, "The more zealously a positive is proclaimed the more we are admonished to inspect it for evidence of its guidance by a set of thou-shalt-nots."³²⁴ The decision to focus photographic attention on some event or place negates the photographic potential of others, and this screening might occur at the point of creating a photograph, or later when decisions are made to keep or discard, and forefront or sideline certain photographic pictures and objects.

³²⁰ Bernard L. Brock, "Andy King's 'Disciplining Burke': A Perspective by Incongruity," *American Communication Journal* 4, no. 2 (2001): unpaginated.

³²¹ Ciesielski, "'Secular Pragmatism': Kenneth Burke and the [Re]Socialization of Literature and Theory," 247.

³²² Burke, *Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose*, 49.

³²³ Burke, *Language as Symbolic Action; Essays on Life, Literature, and Method*, 51.

³²⁴ Gregg, "Kenneth Burke's Concept of Rhetorical Negativity," 197.

4.2 *Technology and the visual: two issues in the application of Burke's thinking*

Since the 1980s, considerable attention has been given to exploring the potential for Burke's work beyond literature, initially in the social sciences³²⁵ and, by the 1990s, in the "... host of visuospatial electronic media ..." that had come to dominate information exchange.³²⁶ This expansion was considered appropriate to the spirit of adaptation and revision inherent in Burke's work, and to maintaining its relevance in shifting discourses.³²⁷ In particular, authors sought a future for Burkean dramatism in a world where the written word [as augured by Benjamin] had been supplanted by video and cinematic images, and where political rhetoric was constructed by telephone, fax and television.³²⁸ To which, of course, must now be added email and the internet. Meaning generation around pictures is at the core of many of these rhetorical forms, and it is in this spirit of growth that the current project seeks to apply Burke's thinking to photographs.

As Benjamin suggested, technology is central to this world view. Indeed Robert Cathcart contends that, "[t]echnology *is* our environment."³²⁹ This provides a point of difficulty for some Burke scholars since Burke mistrusts technological constructs, relegating them to means rather than active participation in the development of meaning. Cathcart argues, however, that in contemporary thinking it is necessary to reject the notion that media technologies are purely material tools. He believes that

³²⁵ Kenneth Burke, Herbert W. Simons, and Trevor Melia, *The Legacy of Kenneth Burke, Rhetoric of the Human Sciences* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), vii-viii.

³²⁶ William H. Rueckert, "A Field Guide to Kenneth Burke - 1990," in *Extensions of the Burkeian System*, ed. James W. Chesebro (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993), xiv.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, xiii-xiv.

³²⁸ Robert S Cathcart, "Instruments of His Own Making: Burke and Media," in *Extensions of the Burkeian System*, ed. James W. Chesebro (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993), 288.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 289-90.

Burke's philosophy can function towards this end if the limits of his literary, print-based blueprint are transcended.³³⁰

Burke does not address specifically how the technological media of communication – an integral part of our using (or misusing) symbols – affect the symbolic process itself.³³¹

However, as Cathcart suggests, the medium of communication does bear upon the experience of the message. An offer made in writing, he notes, carries greater weight than one made verbally.³³² Also, "[t]he technology of the medium draws the viewer in and requires the interpreter to use the language of that medium ..." ³³³ animating the tool and making it a driving force in the naming and performing of its outputs.

He also believes that technology gives visual images the quality of action by imposing a certain structure and form which engages with the viewer in the dialectic that gives rise to symbolic action.³³⁴ Cathcart refers specifically to photography in this context, quoting an article written with Gary Gumpert, where the authors argue, like Benjamin and Barthes, that the invention of photography ushered in a new era of self awareness.³³⁵

A technological medium is not a neutral instrument to be manipulated and orchestrated at will. Rather, it is a potent system of symbols that transfers data and information and simultaneously alters the way human beings conceive of reality and perceive themselves and others.³³⁶

Star Muir has also considered the place of technology in Burke's thinking, all of which he believes can be

... described as a reaction to what [Burke] views as a pervasive and pernicious scientism, an improper attitude that extends scientific methods to all aspects of life This reductive perspective is also apparent in the

³³⁰ Ibid., 291.

³³¹ Ibid., 292.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Ibid., 299.

³³⁴ Ibid., 298.

³³⁵ Robert Cathcart and Gary Gumpert, "I Am the Camera: The Mediated Self," *Communication Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (1986).

³³⁶ Cathcart, "Instruments of His Own Making: Burke and Media," 293.

ascendancy of technologism, or the unremitting and unquestioned use of technology as an instrument of progress.³³⁷

Burke characterises this distorted emphasis on technology as a psychosis, obscuring contact with core human drives and, as William Rueckert explains, ultimately depriving the individual of the ability to experience anything but him or herself.³³⁸ In Muir's words,

Science, in describing and asserting the nature of the world, becomes 'scientism' when it fails to acknowledge its own incapacity to grasp human motivation, to allow the counterpart of imagination and intuition.³³⁹

The justification and drive for human presence in Antarctica was founded on such a belief in the unequivocal benefit of science in the name of progress, an alibi which was corroborated by the technologies of travel and survival that made it possible to be in that place in the early years of the twentieth century. A further technology, photography, provided a place to rehearse, commandeer, or even subvert these values in the construction of personal responses to these activities. But photography also involves the exercise of imagination and intuition, and the second way of the photograph persists to endorse the human and intuitive element.

Muir sees in Burke a concern at the multiplication of statistical techniques for charting social relations, techniques which are at most superficial, losing sight of individual purpose.³⁴⁰ In Burke's terms, "The most valuable service performed by such quantitative efficiency resides in its power to help [the researcher] feel his triviality as earnestness."³⁴¹ Again, Burke's approach is not about processing data to find an answer. It is a way of being, around which other ways of being may come into view. Proceeding from a concern similar to Benjamin's auratic haze, Burke seeks to address an interpretive and experiential impasse reminiscent of that, arguably, reached by

³³⁷ Muir, "On Kenneth Burke and Technology: Human Symbolism and the Advance of Counter-Nature", iv.

³³⁸ Rueckert, *Kenneth Burke and the Drama of Human Relations*, 286.

³³⁹ Muir, "On Kenneth Burke and Technology: Human Symbolism and the Advance of Counter-Nature", 28.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

³⁴¹ Burke, *Attitudes toward History*, 336, fn.

Barthes in *Camera Lucida*, and, like Elizabeth Edwards, Geoffrey Batchen and Margaret Olin, he looks beyond the content of the rhetorical gesture to the networks of identification in which it operates in order to enact a frame of reference for his pluralist world view, which must now be taken to include the operation of technology as an active player, albeit one as prone to the manipulations of ideologies and imaginings as any other part of the web.

4.3 *Burke's pentad of dramatistic analysis*

The pentad of dramatistic analysis is Burke's 'on the ground' tool for harnessing his far-reaching thinking. It is a device for sorting, aligning and realigning perspectives in order to uncover and promote obscured transcendent elements. This transcendence might be viewed as Burke's 'madness', a vestige of something beyond the rationalised exchanges of the technological era. Benjamin sought to influence this spark through controlling the means of creating rhetorical statements. For Burke, as for Barthes, the prevailing issue was how to recognise and utilise the madness in the face of its potential dissolution by an excessive emphasis on means over ends.

Burke provides and exemplifies a generalised outline of the pentad, requiring that the model be particularised by the enquirer as new rhetorical encounters arise. He states in *The Philosophy of Literary Form* that methodology "...should attempt to develop rules of thumb that can be adopted and adapted..."³⁴² My approach will stretch some of the traditional modes of the pentad in line with this intent, and in order to enable it to take account of the evolution of rhetorical behaviour through and around photographs. Following Edwards, it will approach rhetoric as an ongoing layered and intersecting network rather than an act fixed in form at the point of creation, as might be the case in more traditional considerations of textual rhetoric. My objective is not to mine photographs in order to name and discuss an exhaustive list of all of the agents or acts that arise there. Indeed, the great profusion of detail within and around

³⁴² Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form; Studies in Symbolic Action*, 114.

photographs would make such an exercise impossible. Instead, I propose to nominate a set of characteristics, or players, for each of the pentadic elements in advance, and to consider how these appear or are obscured, intersect and are emphasised through individual photographs and the photographic collective. This consideration will generate further imagining in the spirit of Burke's transcendent insight, and the approach will forefront my shaping of the process of enquiry.

4.3.1 *The decisive moment before: determining the representative anecdote*

Before progressing to the detail of the pentad analysis, it is necessary to determine the scope of the enquiry by defining what Burke calls a representative anecdote.³⁴³ This reflexive preamble provides an opportunity to consider the appropriate form of the thinking in terms of complexity and definition, and to take account of the role of the interpreter in shaping its outcome.³⁴⁴ As Bryan Crable has noted,

In a sense ... the outcome of any scholarly inquiry is derived directly from the presuppositions that shape the inquiry from its inception. Our point of departure affects both the trajectory of our journey and our final destination. Our logical starting point (our set of presuppositions) thus has a decisive impact upon where we end up (the result of our process of inquiry).³⁴⁵

Or, in Burke's terms, the end of an enquiry is its beginning made explicit,³⁴⁶ recalling the argument developed from *Camera Lucida* that the enquirer finds essentially what he or she is looking for in thinking with photographs. Rather than sending the enquirer on a fruitless search for what is already known, however, Crable argues that Burke's representative anecdote simply makes this situation part of the process. "It calls on us, in short, to enter into inquiry with the *correct* set of presuppositions that

³⁴³ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 59-61.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁴⁵ Bryan Crable, "Burke's Perspective on Perspectives: Grounding Dramatism in the Representative Anecdote," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 86, no. 3 (2000): 320.

³⁴⁶ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 338.

are *adequate* to our subject matter.”³⁴⁷ The representative anecdote provides a space to step back and consider the implications and scope of what is to be done. It is a touchstone against which the pentadic data may be measured. Without such a foundation, Bernie Marsden suggests, statistical analysis may lead to a distorted representation of the subject,³⁴⁸ and the application of the metonymic techniques of science and technology to the human activity of identification.

For Burke, an appropriate representative anecdote is necessary because

... representation (synecdoche) stresses a *relationship* or *connectedness* between two sides of an equation, a connectedness that, like a road, extends in either direction, from quantity to quality or from quality to quantity; but reduction follows along this road in only *one direction*, from quality to quantity.³⁴⁹

The representative anecdote thinks like a photograph, providing an internally linked binary oscillation from one point of view to another, like a negative and a print produced from it. It is closely aligned to the pentad’s scenic circumference, and is the interpreter’s selection from all the possible ways the subject under consideration might be approached. It should possess a common critical vocabulary, but also speak synecdochically for wider human concerns.³⁵⁰ It is “... a lens, filter, or template through which the critic studies and deconstructs the discourse.”³⁵¹ It must reflect human action and symbol use³⁵² and is “... a *summation*, containing implicitly what the system that is developed from it contains explicitly.”³⁵³

The objective in this thesis is to enact a means of thinking with photographs using Burke’s pentad of dramatistic analysis. The representative anecdote I propose,

³⁴⁷ Crable, "Burke's Perspective on Perspectives: Grounding Dramatism in the Representative Anecdote," 320.

³⁴⁸ Arnie Madsen, "Burke's Representative Anecdote as a Critical Model," in *Extensions of the Burkeian System*, ed. James W. Chesebro (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993), 224.

³⁴⁹ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 509.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁵¹ Madsen, "Burke's Representative Anecdote as a Critical Model," 210 - 11.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 213.

therefore, is as follows: The Ernest Joyce collection photographs at Canterbury Museum operate as a site for negotiating meaning around participation in the so-called heroic era of Antarctic exploration. Burke's pentad of dramatistic analysis may provide a model to enact thinking with this group of photographs and, if successful, will provide insights into the rhetorical imaginings the photographs engender. The exercise will also stand, synecdochically, for the value of thinking pentadically with photographs (or thinking photographically with the pentad) in other situations.

4.4 *Thinking the pentad for photographs*

Burke's pentad (Table 1) is a set of five questions, the answers to which, he contends, will reveal patterns, repetitions and omissions that will point towards the motivations behind the actions interrogated.³⁵⁴ In Barthes' terms, the pentad performs a *studium* analysis whose objective is to bring into view the operation of the *punctum*.

The questions form an interpretive framework which Burke considers to be beguilingly simple. He advocates that they be approached glancingly, taking particular account of any strangeness or difficulties that emerge.³⁵⁵ Burke's objective is not to produce an exhaustive catalogue of every answer that could be given to these questions, but to enter into a way of thinking. As David Birdsell has concluded,

The pentad itself does not reveal substance so much as it provides a schema for directing the critic's attention to the points of transformation in the narrative. The critic then is responsible for the fresh interpretation of the text.³⁵⁶

It is more important that pentadic thinking be done than that it reach some specific outcome, once again presenting a neat alignment with the operation of photographs in human networks.

³⁵³ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 60.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., xv.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., xvi. I will use the original five term pentad for this exercise.

³⁵⁶ Birdsell, "Ronald Reagan on Lebanon and Grenada: Flexibility and Interpretation in the Application of Kenneth Burke's Pentad," 209.

	Equating to	Pentad term	
What?		Act	What took place in thought or deed?
When/where?		Scene	What is the background of the act, the situation in which it occurred? When or where was it done?
Who?		Agent	Who did it? What person or kind of person performed the act?
How?		Agency	How was it done? What means or instruments were used?
Why?		Purpose	Why did the agent(s) act? What did they want? ³⁵⁷

Table 1: The pentad of dramatistic analysis

Burke uses the pentad primarily for the written word but introduces the idea by reference to photographs.

In an exhibit of photographic murals (*Road to Victory*) at the Museum of Modern Art, there was an aerial photograph of two launches proceeding side by side on a tranquil sea. Their wakes crossed and recrossed each other in almost an infinity of lines. Yet despite the intricateness of this tracery, the picture gave an impression of great simplicity, because one could quickly perceive the generating principle of its design. Such, ideally, is the case with our pentad of terms, used as generating principle. It should provide us with a kind of simplicity that can be developed into considerable complexity, and yet can be discovered beneath its elaborations.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁷ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, xv., a sixth element, attitude, may have been added by Burke in 1961. However, it is unclear whether this was intended to be part of the pentad or a separate analytical axis (See Mahan-Hayes and Aden, 2003: 2-3). In *A Grammar of Motives*, Burke states of attitude, "Often it is preparation for an act.... But in its character as a state of *mind* that may or may not lead to an act, it is quite clearly to be classed under the head of *agent*", thereby situating attitude within the pentadic analysis. Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 20.

³⁵⁸ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, xvi.

He perceives the pentad visually, as a network which comes together on the surface, but easily dissolves back into a fragmentary complex. Burke places particular emphasis on the generative potential of the shifting relationships among the elements of the pentad,³⁵⁹ recalling Benjamin's constellations and mosaics.

The approach also recalls Benjamin's archaeological analogy, his distracted attention, and his contention that insight emerges through gaps, paradoxes and points of intersection. Also recalling Benjamin and Barthes, Burke instructs that the interpretive object should be approached with a mood of quizzical scepticism.³⁶⁰ In *A Grammar of Motives*, act is featured as the central analytical axis of the pentad.³⁶¹ However, all five elements are required to produce a rounded analysis of human motivation.³⁶² The choice whether or not to relate the elements around a central term, and the specific way the questions are posed, are matters for the enquirer to resolve. The determination of these variables will influence the outcome of the interpretive process, continuing to make these decisions, and the decision maker, an explicit part of the pentadic enquiry.³⁶³

As I have argued, thinking with a group of photographs may involve thinking at two levels. One is about the photographic collective, the people and processes involved with bringing that group of objects together in one place, and their ongoing interactions as pictures and as things. The other is about photographs as individual objects and events, and the decisions and processes that they represent discretely. Meticulous analysis of a small number of photographs may require a different set of pentadic reference points to the consideration of a group of several hundred. Therefore, I will carry out two pentadic analyses, one of the Joyce collection as a whole and the other dealing individually with a number of photographs drawn from

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 443.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 227.

³⁶² Ibid., 440.

³⁶³ Ibid., 127.

the group. Using the spirit of Barthes' *punctum*, these will be the photographs that arrest my attention for some uncertain reason, asking me to stop and consider them more closely.

I will now introduce the elements of the pentad as outlined by Burke and expanded by more recent writers, highlighting points of convergence with photography in Antarctica. I will also argue my constructions of the pentadic elements for the current exercise, particularly the refreshed enactments of scene and agency, and will outline the particular pentadic questions that I will apply to the Joyce collection.

4.4.1 Act

Reflecting the pentad's linguistic origins, Burke defines an act as any verb that connotes consciousness or purpose.³⁶⁴ He also concedes, however, that "[w]ords are aspects of a much wider communicative context, most of which is not verbal at all."³⁶⁵ And continues, "... non-verbal things, in their capacity as 'meanings,' also take on the nature of words, and thus require the extension of the dialectic into the realm of the physical."³⁶⁶ Indeed, he acknowledges the limitation of text which omits tones and gestures, providing only those parts of expression that can be written down.³⁶⁷ For Burke, an act is not a means of doing, but a way of being. It is substantial, not instrumental, and in this he sees an important ethical distinction since individual choice is inherent in the mode of performance of all actions.³⁶⁸ For him, consciousness, purpose, the human body and choice are required to constitute an act.

From this outline there emerge two senses in which a photograph may be considered an act - as something made by and standing for human action, and as something consumed by and influential upon behaviour. In both senses it involves the human

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 14.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 482.

³⁶⁶ Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, 186.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 185.

body in purposive action, and operates within a context of value-driven decision making. These decisions may be manifested visually, for example by projecting or capturing a certain gesture, scene or event, or materially by the creation and presentation of a photographic object through manipulation of its forms and physicalities.

Act is not limited to physical action and attitude may substitute for an act or operate as the first step towards one.³⁶⁹ In this sense, attitude is identified as an incipient act, a manifestation of the process of identification.

The symbolic representation of some object or event in art can arouse an added complexity of response in us ... because it invites us to feel such emotions as would be associated with the actual object or event, while at the same time we make allowance for it as a fiction.

And since we are not called upon to act, no '*overt* action' need take place.³⁷⁰

While photographs occupy an ambiguous zone between fiction and fact, it is clear that one of their functions is to support just such a network of identification between target, photographer, presenter and viewer, predicated upon the decisions made by all those involved in the production and consumption of image and object. As Burke suggests, there exists in this process an intellectual stepping off point, by which we are willing to consider that which the photograph contains as somehow the thing itself, while still holding onto the knowledge that this an illusion. Benjamin has pointed to gaps as fertile sites for thinking, and the assertion of the artifice of the photograph via the experience of its material existence provides a key entry point for consideration of the motivations that surround it.

At each stage in this process, behavioural contracts are tacitly concluded or broken. For example, a person being photographed has the choice to accept the photographer's decision and act in ways that support this intent, or to subvert the

³⁶⁸ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 310.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 236.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

photograph's aspirations. Burke has argued that overt or unwitting expressions of irony will be important sites for locating this response. A person in a photograph may turn away, ignore the camera, or pull a face. A humorous caption or adjacency gives the presenter a similar opportunity to support or subvert the photographer and/or targets' intent, and the interpreter may weigh all of these factors and take his or her own action to collude or collide with those who have gone before, as well, of course, as those who may come in the future.

When an individual is photographed as part of a group whose other members also have an interest in generating meanings around the photograph for other times and places, the photograph also implies an agreement to contribute oneself to the telling and retelling of the stories of others. Such an undertaking is particularly acute in photographs surrounding events as charged with public interest as the early exploration of Antarctica. Although different values may adhere to photographs made at key moments versus, for example, those made during leisure time, every photograph initiated during the heroic era of Antarctic exploration is imbued with the potential to become part of a vicarious international dialectic, a potential which is increasingly realised as even the most apparently humble of snapshots from these events reach significant prices at auction, join the public collections of archives and museums, and are published in reworkings of the stories in which they participate.

Returning to my objective of thinking with photographs, I propose in the collection analysis (Table 2³⁷¹) to consider those acts involved with bringing together this particular group of photographs, while in the individual photograph analysis (Table 3³⁷²) I will focus on the assembly of the elements of the picture plane as overt or subtle manifestations of persuasion. Behavioural choices around participation and subversion will be relevant here, as will ideas about what led to certain photographs being made, acquired or kept.

³⁷¹ See page 131

³⁷² See page 132

4.4.2 Scene

Burke constructs the scene as “... a fit ‘container’ for the act, expressing in fixed terms the same quality that the action expresses in terms of development.”³⁷³ The scene, therefore, has some greater quality of finiteness than might the acts which occur within it. Burke provides examples of scenes that are temporal, locational, cultural and institutional.³⁷⁴ The scene may be material or intellectual and its scope and scale will necessarily influence the interpretation of the acts it involves³⁷⁵ since “... the quality of the context in which a subject is placed will affect the quality of the subject placed in that context.”³⁷⁶ The choice of scene will influence the range of conventions that might reasonably be employed, disregarded or subverted. Burke instructs that it is necessary to find a scenic circumference sufficiently well-defined to provide a manageable field of enquiry, but if it is narrowed too far, consciousness and purpose are negated, action is reduced to motion, and the opportunity to produce a worthwhile insight in human terms will be lost to the tabulation of data.³⁷⁷

With regard to photography, scene might be as simple as the location depicted in a photograph, with an attendant array of behaviours and attitudes. It might also be a wider geographical setting or time period within which that initial act of photograph making takes place. Burke considers a natural scene to be sufficient motivation for an act.³⁷⁸ Thus, in Antarctica, photography can take place only at certain times and in certain places as environmental and operational conditions permit. The extreme climate influences the range of human behaviours that are possible and the acts that can be represented in photographs. However, there is a difficulty in nominating such straightforward scenes for photographs since they do not belong to one particular time

³⁷³ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 3.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 84.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 77-78.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 131.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

or place, and the moment of their inception does not wholly define their existence. Photographs operate rhetorically in different ways in different contexts and it might be more productive to consider the photograph itself as the site of its rhetorical behaviour, or in the case of a group of photographs, the collective around which multiple rhetorical acts are played out over time and place.

Burke himself suggests that a photograph can be a scene. Photographs of Burke appear on the covers of most of his publications, and the co-authored volume *The Legacy of Kenneth Burke*, contains a section entitled 'Gallery of photographs'.³⁷⁹ While none are discussed in detail or considered for their rhetorical power, Burke does give a telling caption to the cover image – "Making a Scene".³⁸⁰ This photograph shows Burke, dressed in a suit and overcoat, with a folded paper in one pocket, wearing a mortar board beneath which a lock of hair protrudes comically, smoking a pipe while leaning casually on an upright ashtray, and grinning engagingly, with an air of mischief, at the camera. The overall impression is of clichés of academia taken to a light-hearted extreme, exaggeration and comedy creating a burlesque of the overt message.

In seeking this more complex construction of scene, it may be useful to consider the margins of overlap between the elements of the pentad. Burke, for example, argued that an act may become scenic when enactments survive as constructions.³⁸¹ A photograph may function as such a scenic act. It is a surviving evocation of photographic decisions and behaviours, against which new acts, such as viewing, talking and speculating, may take place. Burke exemplifies this idea by considering a poem,

... after the act of its composition by a poet who had acted in a particular temporal scene, it survives as an objective structure, capable of being examined itself, in temporal scenes quite different from the scene of its composition, and by agents quite different from that agent who originally

³⁷⁹ Burke, Simons, and Melia, *The Legacy of Kenneth Burke*, 152-55.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 154.

³⁸¹ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 420.

enacted it. The enactment thus remaining as a construction, we can inquire into the principles by which this construction is organized.³⁸²

A photograph might operate in the same way with the caveat, of course, that it has no single ‘creator’, and that the intent is not so much a ‘then and now’ analysis, as an ongoing flow of behaviour in which creation and the current interpretive event are but two perspectives. However, it is also here that the originating date of the photograph may become relevant, particularly when considering a photographic collective, situating it within a context of chronological and experiential emphases and absences.

Gregory Clark has also suggested that reproduced pictures transform people (usually the pentad’s agents) into scenery.

To the extent that they present places and the people who inhabit them as pictures to be enjoyed, to be wondered at, even to be collected and displayed by the very different people who inhabit places that are well outside the frame of those scenes, they treat those places and those people as scenery.³⁸³

Just as technology may productively move from the role of agency to agent, Clark suggests that depicted human beings may move from agent to scene, fulfilling a contextual rather than necessarily activating role.

It is clear that the pentadic scene is open to reconfiguration in a process that may absorb and adapt other elements of the pentad. Returning to my representative anecdote and to the objective of thinking with photographs, I therefore propose to use the Joyce collection for both analyses as the scene within and around which the rhetorical networks of these photographs operate. An historical grouping such as this has a fixity of form, even if this is simply residuary, against and within which rhetorical activity may be considered. It is an enduring creative or conceptual outcome and driver of attitudinal and physical acts, and presents sufficient complexity to consider statistical emphases, preferences, omissions and intersections.

³⁸² Ibid., 482.

³⁸³ Clark, *Rhetorical Landscapes in America : Variations on a Theme from Kenneth Burke*, 57.

4.4.3 *Agent*

An enquiry based around the agent, meanwhile, emphasises reason and the role of the self-conscious human mind in the construction of meaning.³⁸⁴ An agent may be collective or individual, literal or metaphorical, and embraces not only all words

for person, actor, character, individual, hero, villain, father, doctor, engineer, but also any words moral or functional, for *patient*, and words for the motivational properties of agents, such as ‘drives,’ ‘instincts,’ ‘states of mind’.³⁸⁵

In thinking with photographs, agent may be the place to consider those involved with making and presenting the picture and object. An obvious candidate is the photographer, without whose decisive action the photographic object would not exist. Many photographic pictures also contain human agents who are both Burkean ‘acters’ in the creation of content, and recipients of the act of photography (as in his doctor/patient construction). Benjamin and Barthes both suggested that one of the motivations behind repeated submissions to the camera lens is a desire to cheat death, to leave an idealised trace of self to endure beyond a lifetime. Whether beyond one’s lifetime, or simply beyond the events around which the photograph is made, the human target’s intent is clearly greater than the photographic moment. It speaks to a future in which the target might or might not otherwise be present, and where presenter and viewer will layer their own motivations onto the photograph’s meaning.

The people and things ‘in’ the photograph are not the sole source of the thinking done with it, but they remain an important element in the mosaic of identification and may appropriately be located as the pentad’s agents. Recent discussion of the role of technology and of the environment in shaping acts and scenes must also impact on the construction of the agent, admitting the places depicted and the means of depiction to this function. Of course, the presenter and ultimately the viewer may be the agents with the greatest power to shape any meaning taken from a photograph, and the greatest source of the photograph’s import may lie in how it causes people to act and

³⁸⁴ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 171.

react, rather than in what it depicts. In the case of a photographic collective, to this list of potential agents must also be added the people involved with bringing the photographs together.

In both analyses I shall consider the photographer, the photographic targets (the people, animals, things and places in front of the camera), and the viewer as the pentadic agents - making my own reactions to the photographs a conscious part of the thinking done with them. The consideration of the targets will be at a primarily schematic and relational level in the collection analysis, highlighting patterns of inclusion, exclusion and repetition, while the individual photograph consideration will pay closer attention to the intersecting elements of the picture plane. In the collection analysis, I will also consider Ernest Joyce and his wife as the main compilers and presenters of the photographs, and Canterbury Museum as the physical and intellectual contextualiser of the collective today.

4.4.4 *Agency*

Burke describes scene, act and agent as “the big three”, drawing together agency and purpose in a means-end relationship.³⁸⁶ For him, agencies are the instruments and methods developed to assist humans achieve their goals, encapsulated in the notion of technology. As has been demonstrated, Burke’s primary concern with technology was that it not be taken unquestioningly to be progressive, and that metonymic scientific methodologies not be brought to bear upon the more complex realm of human activities, an argument which, perhaps, augured the failure of the semiotic project.

For Muir, one of the outcomes of such uncritical scientism is ‘eco-porn’, or

... the perfected visual representation of nature via calendars, magazines, pictures and framed photographs, such perfected natural beauty (picture the

³⁸⁵ Ibid., 20.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 274.

Grand Tetons with snow-capped peaks and scudding clouds ... or the beaching whale frozen in a spray of jubilant exodus) has become symbolic of our natural landscape ... such representations are abstracted from the temporal and imperfect realities of the wild. Gone from these pictures are the mosquitoes, the dirt, the varying temperature, the lack of facilities. Gone are the impurities that characterize the biology, that make Nature truly 'wild'.³⁸⁷

This is an essentially photographic treatment of nature, an outcome of the selective and emphatic capabilities of the medium and its technology. While it would make no sense to ask photography to construct some kind of 'real' nature, it does make sense to acknowledge the part of photography in creating and sustaining this vision. This non-human, but humanly manipulated, element in the construction of nature becomes an active component in the generation of meaning. While I do not propose here to consider the operation of photography as a unitary medium, if this were to be done it might be more productively located as an agent than in the traditional enactment of agency centred in technology.

Photographic inheritance may be relevant here also. When a photograph is established and widely known as representative of a certain place or activity, it may follow that subsequent photograph makers, perhaps less skilled or less well equipped, will seek to recreate a scene in the image of the endorsed one. To paraphrase Burke, the image is made over in the image of the image, and in this sense, the medium again moves towards agent in determining what will be photographed and how, or at least what successive photographers will seek to photograph. Antarctica has received an 'eco porn' treatment in professional photography, but there also exists a mass of amateur photographs made there which intersect with and emulate these forms, as well as layering values from other photographic and story-telling traditions, including the snapshot phenomenon and the narratives of exploration, onto the Antarctic landscape.

³⁸⁷ Muir, "On Kenneth Burke and Technology: Human Symbolism and the Advance of Counter-Nature", 50.

Agency may also drive the choice and nature of acts. Burke gives the example of automobiles. Because they exist, some people become mechanics and a life's purpose comes to be defined by its means. For Burke, this is a reversal of the more desirable order whereby means lead to and support independently defined ends.³⁸⁸ Similarly, because photography exists, photographs are made, and we come to anticipate that photographs will capture certain types of event or scene. If something is considered important or beautiful enough it might be a 'photo opportunity', and, once something has been photographed it takes on a new importance and enduring presence in individual and collective memory. This may be another example of means eclipsing ends, as humans flock to make and remake photographs they know will seldom, if ever, be what they want them to be. However, here, perhaps, is the photographic sky hook by which the ability to name and rename in a photograph, as in words, becomes a gesture of hope. And, breaking through the generalisation of the medium to approach photographs as individualised material presentations may return the enquiry to the ends – beginning from the concrete human expression of value and imagining, rather than engaging with an entangling abstraction.

My interest is in these individual and uniquely relational enactments of hope – material photographs, rather than an abstract photography. Burke's primary analytical subject is language but he does not consider its operation as a codifier, or the impact of tools such as writing devices and the printing press inherent in its dissemination. In photography, a parallel might be found in those who discuss photographs without taking account of their materiality, an approach that may be seen as a product of mid-twentieth century modernist thinking in which the transparency of the medium was paramount. The photographic object is the axis of vernacular and contestable photographies, the means by which the picture and those associated with it are present in ongoing networks of identification. Therefore, I will locate the photographs, rather than photography, as the agency of my pentadic enquiry. And, in line with the acknowledged, but not yet widely discussed, generative power of the material

³⁸⁸ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 269.

encounter in both collective and individual presentation, I intend to make this my key analytical axis.

This will involve taking account of matters such as the style of presentation and the photographic format, adjacencies including text and framing devices, as well as elements of damage and disfigurement such as fingerprints, cracks and losses. The reverse side and margins of the objects will have considerable importance, often the place where descriptions, imprints and other information are to be found. The location and purpose of the encounter will also impact on the meaning taken from the object.

4.4.5 *Purpose*

Burke considers purpose to be implicit in all the other elements of the pentad and therefore most prone to dissolution.³⁸⁹ To counter this tendency he advocates that it be sought actively, even when overtly eliminated, and that interrogation of another element may bring into view the obscured purposive function.³⁹⁰ This calls to mind photography's analogous properties, particularly in those photographs perceived to be unposed, informal or purely documentary – social construction masked, fatally in Burke's terms, as 'scientific' register.

The casual snapshot may provide a particularly effective illustration of this idea. It is perceived to operate outside of the manipulations of commercial, journalistic or art photography and to provide a more honest and simple visual statement in which any attempts at construction are motivationally transparent. Of course, the desire to appear innocent and unposed is itself a mode of action motivated by a series of value-driven decisions and social permissions. Benjamin, Barthes and Burke, like many others, have argued that it is in the seemingly unmotivated and the taken for granted that the greatest concentration of ideology may reside.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 289.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 290.

Conversely, recent constructions that focus on the operation of the photograph as an object in networks of identification risk obscuring the role of the photograph as picture. Employing the spirit of Barthes' first photographic *noeme*, 'that has been',³⁹¹ as the purpose of the photograph provides a means of recovering this once paramount element of photographic meaning, while holding it in balance as just one voice in the photographic conversation. This is the simple or overt surface intent, as perceived by creator or presenter in the form of a caption, or by the viewer where no words persist, and it is just as prone to shifting interpretations and reconstructions as any of the photograph's other elements. This photographic purpose is a means to ensure that what the photograph depicts is still taken into account in an interpretive model that places increased emphasis on what the photograph does.

4.5 *Through data to transcendence: the alchemic opportunities of Burke's ratios*

The answers to the pentadic questions provide a set of data. In order to bring into focus the patterns, repetitions and omissions this reveals, Burke's next step is to combine the data into a set or sets of structured pairs, which he calls ratios. The ratios highlight the margins of overlap, providing opportunities to think from one term to another, and it is in these "alchemic opportunit[ies]"³⁹² that transformations take place. He describes the pentadic terms as fingers, separate at the extremities, but merged at the palm of the hand. In order to move between them without making a leap, it is necessary to move back to the point of merger and out again.³⁹³

³⁹¹ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 77.

³⁹² Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, xix.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, xxii.

Ten possible ratios result from the five elements of the pentad³⁹⁴ and, again, their form and number will be determined by the enquirer. The ratios operate in both directions, being related as potential to actual. For example, the potentialities of the scene may be actualised by the agent and *vice versa*.³⁹⁵ Burke discusses two ratios (scene-act and scene-agent) in detail in *A Grammar of Motives*, placing particular emphasis on their interpretive value. He sees examples of them everywhere in life, and considers them to be at "... the very centre of motivational assumptions." Indeed, Burke considers the logic of these two ratios to be the overarching principle of dramatism.³⁹⁶ However, he also reasserts his belief that it is necessary to be aware of all five pentadic elements in order to see these assumptions clearly.³⁹⁷

Just as language and other communicative media shape what is said and how, David Birdsell considers the pentad's elements to be active players in the construction of meaning, arguing that different pentadic formulations may emerge within a single interpretive object.³⁹⁸ He sees the pentad as an aggressively evolutionary and internally competitive structure, suggesting, for example, that unless scene conspires in the change wrought by action, act will attempt to redefine scene in a hostile manner and, if successful, the scene will be deprived of some element specific to it.³⁹⁹ Scene, in this sense, is more than a passive container, and conspiracy between the elements may be accompanied or frustrated by a colonising drive.⁴⁰⁰ While this mode of thinking may be at odds with the conciliatory spirit argued by writers such as Phyllis Japp, the two interpretations point both to the flexibility of the pentad as an interpretive model, and to its operation, like a photograph, as a site against which the meanings sought are most often found. Like photographs, the pentad facilitates thinking rather than providing answers. It opens up possibilities rather than excluding

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 15.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 252.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 79.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 12.

³⁹⁸ Birdsell, "Ronald Reagan on Lebanon and Grenada: Flexibility and Interpretation in the Application of Kenneth Burke's Pentad," 209.

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 206.

outcomes, and it is the ratios, like Benjamin's constellations and Barthes' wounds, that provide the opportunities for this to happen.

4.5.1 *Collective photographs: The scene-act ratio*

Burke describes the scene-act ratio as the container and the thing contained.⁴⁰¹ In the operation of this ratio the knowledge derived from the act is knowledge of the act's context or motivational ground.⁴⁰² For Burke, motivations are intrinsic and extrinsic, existing within the agent and derived from scenic sources.⁴⁰³ It is not possible to deduce the details of an action from the details of its setting, but the qualities of both are likely to be in alignment.⁴⁰⁴

The consideration of acts within a scene that is specifically photographic will influence the meanings taken from them. The behaviour of participants before the camera, who these people, places, objects and creatures are (or are not), and their willingness, or otherwise, to take part in the photographic act, will be important. Burke does not contend that a given situation changes people and their actions, but certain kinds of agents, and congruent actions, will be brought to the fore in a complementary situation. Inappropriate acts will still exist but will not count for as much as they would in a situation where they are a better fit.⁴⁰⁵ The potential for the act of subversion through, for example, non-participation is present in every instance of this ratio and uncovering such 'inappropriate acts', provides a means of understanding the intersections of different value sets.

Where the scene is a group of photographs, it is also possible to consider the modulations of their enactment. In the early years of the twentieth century, for

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 209.

⁴⁰¹ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 3.

⁴⁰² Ibid., 41.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 46.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 19.

example, photography was rapidly becoming widely available and 'doable'. For the first time members of the 'lower ranks' among the Antarctic expeditions were able to make their own photographs, amidst the burgeoning iconography of the snapshot and the illustrated press.⁴⁰⁶ These men also had the opportunity to take time out from their usual daily work, as a Naval seaman in the case of Ernest Joyce, to learn the techniques of photographic processing and printing in the long hours spent in the Antarctic huts. Like Joyce, many of these men would have been unlikely to have acquired these skills in their everyday lives, making ownership of the processes of photography, as well as its outputs, an emblem of their Antarctica. And this ownership extends beyond physical presence in Antarctica to networks of association performed through the sharing and copying of photographs in later years, where acts of borrowing, returning and using photographs are played out in an atmosphere of physical and rhetorical trust predicated upon shared experience.

Birdsell considers scene the most appropriate primary pentadic element for analysing a situation where the human participants' "... specific activities, routine procedures, or personal traits are [not] as important as their bodily presence in the scene. The situation itself exerts principal control over the people encompassed within it."⁴⁰⁷ Geographically, historically and environmentally, Antarctica as scene certainly performs such a function, but so does a group of photographs, in a more subtle way. It represents and drives a set of acts ranging from making a camera and negative present at a certain time, to smiling for the camera, to deciding to purchase or manufacture a certain photograph and keep and use it alongside others, to transporting it around the world, transferring it to a public context in a museum, and even to

⁴⁰⁶ For a discussion of the role of the press in shaping the perception of the explorer, see Beau Riffenburgh, *The Myth of the Explorer : The Press, Sensationalism, and Geographical Discovery, Polar Research Series* (London ; New York: Belhaven ;Scott Polar Research Institute University of Cambridge, 1993).

⁴⁰⁷ Birdsell, "Ronald Reagan on Lebanon and Grenada: Flexibility and Interpretation in the Application of Kenneth Burke's Pentad," 198. Interestingly, in arriving at this determination, Birdsell refers only to the text under scrutiny for his sense of the relative

making it the centre of thinking about certain places, times and people. All of these acts will be flavoured by the fact that they are done in or with photographs and, as has been demonstrated, the specificities of those acts may be less important than the fact that they are done, and done photographically. For the analysis of the Joyce collection as a whole, then, I will use the scene-act ratio.

4.5.2 *Individual photographs: The act-agent ratio*

To consider the individual photographs I have chosen the act-agent ratio. In *A Grammar of Motives* Burke states,

To this writer, at least, the act-agent ratio more strongly suggests a temporal or sequential relationship than a purely positional or geometric one. The agent is the author of his acts, which are descended from him, being good progeny if he is good, or bad progeny if he is bad, wise progeny if he is wise, silly progeny if he is silly. And, conversely, acts can make him or remake him in accordance with their nature. They would be his product and/or he would be theirs. ... [T]he image of derivation is stronger than the image of position.⁴⁰⁸

This fits well with the notion of photographs as enduring manifestations of acts against which those depicted, and those associated through being, for example, behind the camera, in the dark room or in front of the lecture screen, are judged and understood. They are also sites around which other acts are performed, and sometimes registered (eg marking, tearing or breaking) and all of those involved in this durational and episodic expression of rhetoric take part in a network of meaning that relates acts and performers within, around and outside of the photograph. It also allows for the sense in which the photograph, as reproducible image, may operate outside of a single material manifestation. Individual photographs may appear in many different groupings and numerous forms. A photographic picture does not really 'belong' to any one individual, but to networks of friendship, kinship and trade.

significance of scene and actors. He does not take up Burke's call to use all available resources and knowledge to inform the process.

⁴⁰⁸ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 16.

In this way, the photograph operates as an ethereal combination of agent and act, disembodied but persistent.

Burke considers this ratio to be similar to scene-act but to offer a finer point of distinction,⁴⁰⁹ and in this way it might also offer a useful complement to the scene-act ratio used for the collection analysis. He also suggests that

... the stress upon the term, agent, encourages one to be content with a very vague treatment of scene. ... [O]ne may deflect attention from scenic matters by situating the motives of an act in the agent...⁴¹⁰

This is useful in considering photographs selected from a collective in two ways. First it allows the individual photograph to refer back to the group of which it has become a part, while acknowledging that it also stands as a rhetorical device in its own right. Second it allows for the collective, the scene, to come chronologically and intellectually after the photograph, since the individual photographic acts under consideration were not begun with the Joyce collection as their intended outcome. This construction adds considerably to their functioning, but is not necessarily an integral part of their inception.

Burke continues,

... the sheer nature of an office, or position, is said to produce important modifications in a man's character. Even a purely symbolic act, such as the donning of priestly vestments, is often credited with such a result. ... 'There seems to be something about the judicial robes that not only hypnotizes the beholder but transforms the wearer.'⁴¹¹

In a literal sense, the photographs in the Joyce collection depict a range of Antarctic and expeditioning clothing and equipment. This association transforms the self-conscious wearers into 'explorers', and the photograph into 'an historic moment' setting up an additional layer of expectation and assumption for those who approach it. Less overtly visible are the emblems of these individuals' entry into the activity of photography which is at least partly a normalising and domesticating act in the alien

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 17.

Antarctic environment. The act-agent ratio may provide a means of considering both attempts at transformation.

These agents have both a reservoir of knowledge of popular expeditioning imagery and an opportunity to create a new photographic tradition. As Barthes suggested, their photographs, snapshot and professional, operate broadly in two spheres – as memento and testimony, part of a vast and ever-growing body of domestic and personal photographs, and also as part of the public and global heritage reliquary, where they have the power to commodify the men depicted in the service of enactments and revisions of the narratives they present. Some knowledge of both meanings is likely to have accompanied the creation or acquisition of these photographs, and to have motivated the decision to argue overtly for individual visibility, or to divert either self or photographic cliché from the smooth path of cultural transmission. The act-agent ratio provides a means of considering what was done alongside those who did, and continue to do, it.

4.6 *Summary: the analytical framework for thinking with the Joyce collection*

Kenneth Burke's thinking resonates with Benjamin and Barthes at many levels and, by extension, with the key issues in contemporary photographic thinking that flow from their writing. Importantly, Burke sets out specifically to find a means of mediating the socially constructed and the subjective (or, to invoke Barthes, the *studium* and the *punctum*) within a multi-perspectival framework that considers reality to be something that human beings 'do'. He is concerned with the negotiation of networks of identification as a means of seeing beyond the detritus of their performance to core motivational elements.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 16.

However, Burke's distrust of technological and metonymic processes led him to look past the rhetorical operation of the mode of encounter (be it text, landscape, television or photograph), thereby excluding an important and partial voice from the behavioural rhetoric of today's world. This voice is recaptured in the current exercise by centralising the photographic object as the pentad's agency, turning attention from the generalised abstraction of the photographic medium to the individually enacted here and now of the material photographic encounter.

Traditional uses of Burke's work have also tended to envisage the approach as a 'then and now' encounter between a contained rhetorical act, effectively delineated at and by the point of its inception, and an external, similarly positioned, enquirer. However, by reconfiguring the pentadic scene as the photographic collective, it is possible to construe photographic rhetoric as something durational and internally as well as externally reflexive, making the current encounter but one constellation in a much wider discussion.

Burke's approach reaches out to the bewildering complexity of human behaviour, bringing it within the frame of the pentadic enquiry long enough for nominated elements to be compared and considered, but not halting its reconfiguration by the unending conversation of history. This approach is fundamentally generative rather than definitive and Burke's dramatic ironic engagement with the past requires that it also be entered into in a conciliatory mode.

Like Edwards' spatialities, my articulation of the representative anecdote, the pentad, the ratios and the thinking that flows from them, is but one enactment of Burke's work and of the Joyce collection. It does not provide *the* answer, but it does offer a fresh perspective. Before turning in the next chapters to the contextualising discussion of heroic-era Antarctica and Ernest Joyce, I will now set out in overview form the key elements of the framework for the current pentadic analysis.

Representative anecdote: The Ernest Joyce collection photographs at Canterbury Museum operate as a site for negotiating meaning around participation in the so-called heroic era of Antarctic exploration. Burke's pentad of dramatistic analysis may provide a model to enact thinking with this group of photographs and, if successful, will provide insights into the rhetorical imaginings the photographs engender. The exercise will also stand, synecdochically, for the value of thinking pentadically with photographs (or thinking photographically with the pentad) in other situations.

Collection analysis

		Pentad term	
What?	Equating to	Act	Assembling photographs
When/where?		Scene	The Joyce collection photographs at Canterbury Museum
Who?		Agent	Ernest Joyce Beatrice Joyce (nee Curlett) Canterbury Museum Photographer Target The author
How?		Agency	The photographic objects
Why?		Purpose	That has been

Table 2: Collection analysis

Individual photograph analysis

	Equating to	Pentad term	
What?		Act	Persuading through a photograph
When/where?		Scene	The Joyce collection photographs at Canterbury Museum
Who?		Agent	Photographer Target The author
How?		Agency	The photographic object
Why?		Purpose	That has been

Table 3: Individual photograph analysis

Collection ratio: Scene-Act

Individual photograph ratio: Act-Agent

Key analytical axis: Agency

5 All there is to use: photographs and Antarctic exploration

Having travelled some distance to establish the shape of thinking with photographs as I propose to enact it, it becomes necessary to turn to the context of the enquiry, and sketch out the field within which this thinking will take place. In this chapter I consider the heroic era of Antarctic exploration in what might be described as popular and general historical writing, taking particular note of how photographs have been approached. I then look more closely at recent academic work which has begun to view the period in a more intensively intellectual mode, once again paying particular attention to what has been done with photographs, and how other aspects of this emerging discourse might feed into thinking with photographs. In Chapter six I introduce Ernest Edward Mills Joyce in more detail and consider the existing constructions of his Antarctic experiences. These two chapters will be my touchstones for approaching Joyce's photographs – my selection, as Burke suggests, from all there is to use.⁴¹²

5.1 “A very disappointing region for photography”⁴¹³:

photographs and the popular construction of Antarctic exploration

The shelves of libraries in this country, and I suspect many others, fairly heave with the weight of publications about Antarctica in general, and about the heroic age of its exploration in particular. Photographs have come along on this sometimes bumpy ride, illustrating tales of daring, demonstrating scientific assiduity, and inspiring aesthetic contemplation. They are almost exclusively encountered as illustrations in

⁴¹² Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form: Studies in Symbolic Action*, 23.

⁴¹³ Herbert G Ponting, *The Great White South* (London: Duckworth, 1921), 192.

support of words, or abstractions in support of the skill of their makers. They are, of course, reproductions and generally presented as the work of individuals officially sanctioned in their photographic role.

The unit of endeavour and experience that is the exploratory 'expedition' has been the main defining construction, with official reports and accounts by leaders appearing shortly after the completion of each journey.⁴¹⁴ A second wave of books based around the journals of other expedition members followed, as did a period of biographising and historicising, initially almost exclusively and unashamedly heroic in intent and subsequently revisionist, incorporating accounts of less well-known expedition members in a drive to 'reveal' more and more about what really went on during these geographically and now motivationally remote episodes. As the words of previously unheard participants began to populate these accounts, so did their photographs, although still resoundingly as novel illustrations in support of novel textual arguments.⁴¹⁵

In overview, this century or so of popular, and not so popular, discourse establishes and reinforces a clear binary in which two figures and two expeditions dominate: Scott and the *Terra Nova* expedition, and Shackleton and the *Endurance*. A photographic binary reinforces this construction in the form of the two professional photographers of the era – Herbert Ponting, who travelled with Scott, and Frank Hurley with Shackleton. This ubiquity has arisen through biographical, historical and art historical frameworks, often emphasising Ponting and Hurley as the creators of photographic meaning and placing their output against social and artistic styles of

⁴¹⁴ For a thorough account of the literature produced in response to the Scott and Shackleton expeditions, see Stephanie L. Barczewski, *Antarctic Destinies : Scott, Shackleton and the Changing Face of Heroism* (London ; New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 193-211. She does not, however, mention the photographs in these books.

⁴¹⁵ See, for example, Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*. And McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*. Both use photographs from the Joyce Collection at Canterbury Museum.

their times.⁴¹⁶ In this way, Antarctic photographs of the heroic era have received a treatment fairly typical of the middle decades of the twentieth century – treading a line between documentation, illustration, technological curiosity and art, and bolstering the notion of the ‘master’ creator, passionately dedicated to his calling, often at the (apparently excusable) expense of significant involvement in other activities and other relationships.

However, many other men on these expeditions also took cameras and photographs, both ‘publicly’, as part of the performance of their duties, and privately for their own, presumably varied, purposes.⁴¹⁷ The photographs of the professionals were commercially sensitive, with rights to their use sold in advance to help finance the expeditions. Shackleton claimed first right of use on all photographs taken during his expeditions and imposed a period of veto before on any other public exploitation could take place.⁴¹⁸ An awareness of the importance of photographs would have been unavoidable for all participants, and the presence of at least one darkroom on every expedition clearly created a syndrome⁴¹⁹ appropriate to the making and valuing of photographs by all involved.

⁴¹⁶ See, for example, Beau Riffenburgh and E. Cruwys, *The Photographs of H G Ponting* (London: Discovery Gallery, 1998).; Herbert George Ponting et al., *With Scott to the Pole : The Terra Nova Expedition 1910-1913 : The Photographs of Herbert Ponting* (Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 2004). Alasdair McGregor, *Frank Hurley : A Photographer's Life* (Camberwell, Vic.: Viking, 2004)., Lynne Andrews, *Antarctic Eye : The Visual Journey* (Mount Rumney, Tas.: Studio One, 2007)., David Pierre Millar, *From Snowdrift to Shellfire : Capt. James Francis (Frank) Hurley, 1885-1962* (Sydney [N.S.W.]: David Ell Press, 1984)., Dennis Lynch, "The Worst Location in the World: Herbert G Ponting in the Antarctic, 1910-1912," *Film History* 3 (1989)., David Hempleman-Adams, Sophie Gordon, and Emma Stuart, *The Heart of the Great Alone : Scott, Shackleton and Antarctic Photography*, 1 vols. (London: Royal Collection, 2009).;

⁴¹⁷ Ponting, for example, notes that there was no lack of cameras on the *Terra Nova* expedition, and taught Scott and several officers and scientists photographic skills, Ponting, *The Great White South*, 167-68.

⁴¹⁸ McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, 164.

⁴¹⁹ I use this term in the way Stephen Pyne constructs it as a suitable set of attitudes around which certain acts might be expected to take place, something like Burke's scene: act construction, see Pyne, *The Ice : A Journey to Antarctica*, 66.

Ernest Joyce never travelled to Antarctica with a professional photographer. He never “ponted”,⁴²⁰ never had a ‘master’ photographer to learn from or to avoid. His collection includes a number of lantern slides of Hurley photographs, but these depict events at which Joyce was not present. Rather than performing pictorially for him, they highlight the intersections between photography as personal experience and photographs as circulating commodity.

5.1.1 *Ponting and Hurley: two unavoidable clichés in Antarctic photography*

If Benjamin and Barthes provide a set of clichés for thinking about photography, Ponting and Hurley do the same for the general awareness of photography in heroic-era Antarctica. Both published first-hand accounts of their Antarctic experiences, providing insight into the technical and logistical complications of photography in this climate,⁴²¹ as well as their impressions of the events taking place around them. However, while Ponting’s book refers frequently to his work, making it clearly the observations of a photographer in Antarctica, photography is almost invisible in Hurley’s account which reads more as the adventure tale of an Antarctic explorer.⁴²² It is also interesting to note that neither photographer was present at some of the most crucial moments of their expeditions – Ponting did not accompany Scott’s South Polar party, and Hurley was not among the group who crossed South Georgia to secure rescue for the stranded expedition members.⁴²³ Photography, so frequently

⁴²⁰ A term coined by Griffith Taylor to describe the experience of being targeted by Ponting and his camera, “... to pose until nearly frozen in all sorts of uncomfortable positions.” Ponting, *The Great White South*, 183.

⁴²¹ See, for example, *Ibid.*, 113, 18, 24-27, 33, 53, 69-71, 92-93.

⁴²² James Francis Hurley, *Shackleton's Argonauts : The Epic Tale of Shackleton's Voyage to Antarctica in 1915*, [Rev.] ed. (Auckland: Collins, 1979).

⁴²³ Ostensibly, for Ponting, because of the weight of his equipment and because there would be nothing to photograph in the featureless white expanse of the Polar Plateau. He also left Antarctica after the first season of the expedition. Hurley was named for Shackleton’s continental crossing party, although to capture moving image rather than still photographs.

considered to be the outsider's vicarious eye on events, is highlighted in heroic-era Antarctica to be contingent, fragmentary and partial.

The overall sense that emerges of Ponting's activities is one of busyness, a darkroom in constant use, with the sound of negatives that did not meet his expectations being shattered from time to time, and every negative, and thousands of feet of cinematograph film, exposed in Antarctica developed there.⁴²⁴ With significant financial expectations and limited opportunities to photograph, for the professionals at least, photography in early twentieth century Antarctica was a pressured activity.

While this frenetic intensity may not have been so great on other expeditions, it appears that the darkrooms were consistently busy places and were made widely available. In the early months of the *Discovery* expedition, for example, its Chief Engineer and, subsequently, official photographer, Reginald Skelton, commented in his diary,

The Dark Room is made too much of by almost everybody who wants to snap off any odd picture. The consequence being that it is impossible to keep things in order; one finds a developing dish has been used for washing out hypo or even for fixing. I have to put up rules in the Room specifying that everybody must clean up their own mess & replace water, but it is of course impossible to keep everything straight, especially as some of the photographers are exceedingly amateur.⁴²⁵

In addition to negatives, the men also produced photographic prints, albums⁴²⁶ and lantern slides. The latter were used for lectures in the huts, most famously by

However, this crossing never took place. Ponting, *The Great White South*, 185-86., McGregor, *Frank Hurley : A Photographer's Life*, 97.

⁴²⁴ Ponting, *The Great White South*, 171., Lynch, "The Worst Location in the World: Herbert G Ponting in the Antarctic, 1910-1912," 304-05.

⁴²⁵ Reginald William Skelton and J. V. Skelton, *The Antarctic Journals of Reginald Skelton : Another Little Job for the Tinker* (Cheltenham, England: Reardon, 2004), 23.

⁴²⁶ Hurley, for example, compiled an album which survived the *Endurance* expedition. Known as The Green Album, it is now housed at the Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge. McGregor, *Frank Hurley : A Photographer's Life*, 107, 447.

Ponting,⁴²⁷ but were also a vital part of building and selling the value of Antarctic exploration 'back home'. Planning for post-expedition lecture tours was very much in the minds of Ponting and Skelton as they worked in Antarctica,⁴²⁸ and a number of officers, scientists and photographers presented and toured lantern slide lectures to considerable popular and financial success, at least up until the First World War.⁴²⁹ These events often mixed entertainment with educational intent and the presence of the celebrity explorer as lecturer carried at least as much weight as the content of the slides.⁴³⁰ Hurley was probably the leading Antarctic lantern showman⁴³¹ and, as Robert Dixon has noted, "[h]is public life was also an artefact shaped by the emerging institutions and technologies of modernity...."⁴³² This "biographical legend"⁴³³ appended to a greater or lesser extent to all those who took part in these activities, rendering them and their lives commodities, constructed and performed through the agency of photographic retelling.

While subsequent generations have come to know Ponting's and Hurley's photographs as pictures, both men recount stories of photographs operating in different ways. Ponting, for example, recalls visiting Shackleton's *Nimrod* hut at Cape Royds.

⁴²⁷ He gave several lectures about countries he had travelled to previously using slides brought with him to the Antarctic and, on mid-winter's day 1911 presented approximately 100 slides made from his negatives of the current expedition. Ponting, *The Great White South*, 138-39, 43.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., 166. Skelton and Skelton, *The Antarctic Journals of Reginald Skelton : Another Little Job for the Tinker*, 11.

⁴²⁹ Ponting, *The Great White South*, 297. Robert Dixon, "Travelling Mass-Media Circus: Frank Hurley's Synchronized Lecture Entertainments," *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film* 33, no. 1 (2006): 66.

⁴³⁰ Robert Dixon, "Pictures at an Exhibition: Frank Hurley's *in the Grip of the Polar Pack Ice* (1919)," *Journal of Australian Studies* 27, no. 78 (2003): 130.

⁴³¹ His performances became very elaborate including a variety of media such as prints and albums available for sale, celebrity lecturers, silent film projection, live musical accompaniment, illustrated programmes, themed theatre decorations and display of associated equipment, Dixon, "Travelling Mass-Media Circus: Frank Hurley's Synchronized Lecture Entertainments," 61.

⁴³² Dixon, "Pictures at an Exhibition: Frank Hurley's *in the Grip of the Polar Pack Ice* (1919)," 124.

⁴³³ Ibid.: 133.

The photographs that I had previously seen of it had impressed themselves in my memory, and when I saw the hut for the first time I seemed to have known it for years.⁴³⁴

As must be expected, photographs are part of the world that Ponting brings to Antarctica, and the photographs he carries in his mind are a perceptual reference point for the physical and emotional experience of being there. Material photographs will also provide Ponting with an unexpectedly personal connection to the place. While looking around the hut, he comes across a number of illustrated magazines which include his own photographs of

... tropical lands. Little had I imagined when I took those photographs that I should one day find them under such different conditions of climate in a part of the world which at that time I had not thought of ever seeing. I brought those pages back, as souvenirs of my visit to one of the most famous places in the Antarctic.⁴³⁵

Ponting travelled all the way to Antarctica only to find a little piece of himself waiting there. Unsettled by the experience, and the passage of time it evoked, he quickly scooped up the misaligned remnant and took it back with him to a life that would falter, it seems to most, at the point when Antarctica entered it.⁴³⁶

Among the few references to photographs in Hurley's account is the often quoted story of recovering his films and negatives from the sinking *Endurance*. They were stored in hermetically sealed cases in the by-now submerged darkroom and during the evacuation of men, dogs and vital supplies to the ice floe, Hurley had been

... warned not to remove them from the ship, owing to the desperate struggle which now lay before [them] in a march to the land ... on which food alone would be carried.⁴³⁷

However, Hurley returned the following day

⁴³⁴ Ponting, *The Great White South*, 97.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 101.

⁴³⁶ Ponting himself would later call his decision to travel to Antarctica the great error of his life, Lynch, "The Worst Location in the World: Herbert G Ponting in the Antarctic, 1910-1912," 294-95.

⁴³⁷ Hurley, *Shackleton's Argonauts : The Epic Tale of Shackleton's Voyage to Antarctica in 1915*, 100.

... unknown to Sir Ernest [Shackleton], with one of the sailors, to make a determined effort to rescue my films and negatives. We hacked our way through the splintered timbers, and after vainly fishing in the ice-laden waters with boat-hooks, I made up my mind to dive in after them. It was mighty cold work groping about in the mushy ice in the semi-darkness of the ship's bowels, but I was rewarded in the end and passed out the three precious tins.⁴³⁸

Apparently Shackleton was quickly won over to the idea of keeping a selection of the negatives,⁴³⁹ but Hurley was made to smash against the ice almost 300 of the 400 he had processed to that date. The remaining 120 plates, and his cinematograph film, were carried over ice and through icy sea in the life boats which eventually brought the party to the relative safety of Elephant Island, even, at one point, securing their berth at the expense of extra food supplies.⁴⁴⁰

Those film cases and I became inseparable during the six months we drifted on the ice-floe ... On opening the cases [back in London] the Antarctic air came out with a hiss, and I found all my films and negatives to be intact. Not a single foot of film has been lost. Not a single negative broken!⁴⁴¹

For Ponting and Hurley photographs are more than pictures. They are, of course, a means of income and a measure of professional and creative pride, but they are also things manifest in places, and, importantly, triggers for personal and even irrational behaviour in the face of the pressured collective environment of heroic-era exploration. While much has been said about Ponting and Hurley, there is still much more to be done, particularly by thinking first with their photographs rather than their words.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 110.

⁴³⁹ Probably on account of the funds advanced against them, Ibid., 111.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ *Adelaide Register*, 23 December 1919, quoted in Dixon, "Pictures at an Exhibition: Frank Hurley's in the Grip of the Polar Pack Ice (1919)," 135.

5.1.2 *Another approach: scrapbooks, fragments and narratives of impression*

Despite the dominance of Ponting and Hurley, photographs of all sorts have persisted through the intervening generations, often quietly at first in family albums and shoe boxes, but coming forth in increasing numbers to intersect with their famous counterparts in the more layered accounts of Antarctic exploration that are favoured today. This has occurred in publications and exhibitions, and also in the private and public collections that underpin them. While the illustration of textual discussion still dominates, two recent books point to another way to approach photographs. David Wilson's *Nimrod Illustrated* and Wilson and Judy Skelton's *Discovery Illustrated* draw on personal and family experiences to present facsimile 'scrapbooks' of photographs, postcards, press clippings and other ephemera alongside and around snippets of quotations from expedition participants. Wilson chose this approach

Because this is how the men themselves kept their memories of it all. ...

Once upon a time, if you had visited the house of a polar family the intrepid explorer would have sat you down with such a volume and whilst you turned the pages over a glass or two of something, you would have been regaled with the memories that each photograph and scrap recalled.⁴⁴²

These scrapbooks were material and experiential, but the first-hand accounts are gone,

So the scrapbooks today have lost much of their narrative; they are also often damaged from the loving attention of a hundred years, with tears, fingerprints and splashes from glasses of something....⁴⁴³

Wilson and Skelton set out to "... re-create the higgledy-piggledy pages which had inspired [their] childhoods..."⁴⁴⁴ allowing the networks of association to be rekindled. This unashamedly sentimental approach begins to speak of what photographs are about. The photographs and other objects are necessarily flattened as unified reproductions, but Wilson and Skelton seek only to present, as Benjamin would have

⁴⁴² D. M. Wilson, *Nimrod Illustrated : Pictures from Lieutenant Shackleton's British Antarctic Expedition*, Centenary ed. (Cheltenham England : Reardon Pub., 2009), 5.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

preferred, leaving the viewer to speculate about and connect these fragments. In a quiet way, these modest publications go further towards approaching photographs on their own terms than do many of the preceding 'big budget' undertakings.

In stepping aside from the dominance of *Terra Nova* and *Endurance*, Ponting and Hurley, these publications also bring forth a range of photographs which speak of the means of access, both geographical and social, of their authors, and of the sedimented place of photography within the expeditions.⁴⁴⁵ Joyce was present on both *Discovery* and *Nimrod*. Among the hundreds of photographs in the *Discovery* book, however, he is identified only three times, and in the *Nimrod* book 13 times. While neither publication makes any claim to be comprehensive, this level of depiction suggests a marginalisation, both within the expeditions' collegial and formalised gatherings and in relation to photography, which is particularly strong on *Discovery*, but begins to shift on *Nimrod*. Becoming more confident and prominent in an Antarctic setting goes hand in hand, for Joyce, with becoming more confident and prominent in photographs.

5.2 Recent academic constructions of heroic-era Antarctica

In recent years the heroic era has undergone a new kind of intellectual scrutiny, proceeding from enquiries based in geography, literature, politics, art and broader cultural studies.⁴⁴⁶ Some writers have considered photographs, most have not.

⁴⁴⁵ For an indication of the range of sources and photographers, as well as the number of photographs involved, see illustration listings at Judy Skelton and D. M. Wilson, *Discovery Illustrated : Pictures from Captain Scott's First Antarctic Expedition 1901*, Centenary ed. (Cheltenham: Reardon Publishing, 2001), 159-68. and Wilson, *Nimrod Illustrated : Pictures from Lieutenant Shackleton's British Antarctic Expedition*, 156-68.

⁴⁴⁶ See, for example, Christy Collis and Quentin Stevens, "Cold Colonies: Antarctic Spatialities and Mawson and McMurdo Stations," *Cultural Geographies* 14, no. 2 (2007)., Klaus and Kathryn Yusoff Dodds, "Settlement and Unsettlement in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Antarctica," *Polar Record* 41, no. 217 (2005). Elena Glasberg, "Who Goes There? Science, Fiction, and Belonging in Antarctica," *Journal of Historical Geography* 34, no. 4 (2008)., Elena Glasberg, "Antarcticas of the Imagination: American Authors Explore the Last Continent 1818 - 1982" (PhD, Indiana University, 1995)., Elizabeth Leane, "Locating

Particularly important to this discussion is the interplay between Antarctica and the imaginative consciousness, and a more specific construct, which Benjamin and Barthes have demonstrated to be at the core of thinking with photographs - time. Here I will outline some of this thinking with particular reference to the work of two influential writers, Francis Spufford and Stephen Pyne, and look more closely at the ways photographs have been brought into the discussion.

5.2.1 *Imaginariness and modernity*

Francis Spufford's Antarctic time is one of readiness. It is the constellation of a century of moods and ways of being in English culture, "... an intangible history of assumptions, responses to landscape, cultural fascinations, [and] aesthetic attraction to the cold regions"⁴⁴⁷ which, alongside technological developments, made human presence in Antarctica appear appropriate and, perhaps, inevitable. This intangible history is, in Burke's terms, the scene against which Spufford considers the acts of Antarctic exploration. As Benjamin suggested, it is fuelled more by pictures than words⁴⁴⁸ and involves a "... habit of vision scarcely worth discussion."⁴⁴⁹ It is the absorbed and embodied ideology of a generation writ large.

Among these unspoken cultural assumptions is the notion of the sublime. Buried deep in the English world view through decades of iteration, sublimity provided a frame through which early twentieth century explorers could identify with and glorify the Antarctic landscape, even while it thwarted their activities and threatened their survival.⁴⁵⁰ A century of Arctic exploration, meanwhile, had provided a new kind of

the Thing: Antarctica as Alien Space in John W Campbell's "Who Goes There?" *Science Fiction Studies* 32 (2005). Leane, "A Place of Ideals in Conflict: Images of Antarctica in Australian Literature.", Pearson, "Professor Gregory's Villa and Piles of Pony Poop: Early Expeditionary Remains in Antarctica." L Jane Sayle, "The Groke," *Photomedia: New Zealand Journal of Photography* 65 (2007).

⁴⁴⁷ Spufford, *I May Be Some Time : Ice and the English Imagination*, 6.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 8-15.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 8.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 37-39.

folk hero in the form of the returning officer whose narratives were snapped up by prestigious publishers and who enjoyed a celebrity which afforded access to “... the kinds of clubs to which a hero might be admitted where a simple Navy man might not.”⁴⁵¹ Activities in the Arctic also gave rise to a set of expectations about what exploring should involve, key among which was an encounter with an indigenous population which would confound but, through its pre-existence in the place, ultimately facilitate progress. In Antarctica, of course, there was no such human presence, so the performance of exploration itself became the focus and driver of behaviour.⁴⁵²

Spufford also notes that, for all its remoteness and danger, the English Imperial mind constructed Antarctica as a “... wild annex of Britain...”. To reach Antarctica, Scott and his party on the *Terra Nova*

... sailed down a corridor of Britishness. ... Nowhere along the route London-Cape Town-Melbourne-Lyttelton-Ross Island did the expeditions touch any port where English was not the master tongue, where the coins were not the same size and shape and denominated in sterling, where officers were not fed mutton and sherry at dinners given by local notables and the men could not go down to the pub.⁴⁵³

This provided an “... envelope of familiar order...”⁴⁵⁴ and the absence of a local human community at their destination simply pushed the men into a natural space rather than a foreign one.⁴⁵⁵

Spufford introduces the imaginary values of photographs into his account, speculating about the behaviour of various figures based on their photographic depictions, and about the use of photographs in creating scrapbook Antarcticas.⁴⁵⁶ He also discusses

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 52.

⁴⁵² Ibid., 234.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 250-51.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 251.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁶ See his discussion of Sir Clements Markham’s dossier on the *Discovery* expedition, Ibid., 282-83. and of a photograph of Captain Oates and Kathleen Scott, Spufford, *I May Be Some Time : Ice and the English Imagination*, 291.

Ponting's photographs, emphasising their theatricality, within a context of amateur dramatics common to the expeditions, and the fictionalised performance for his camera of 'typical' tasks such as setting camp. Photographs are present towards the end of the era and the end of the book as Spufford imagines the scene before the search party who located the bodies of Scott and his companions.

... [T]hey also see that the tent was pitched as tidily as ever; that there are rolls of photographs waiting to be developed; that the sledge buried beside the tent carries an orderly load, part of which is made up of decayed coal specimens from the rock strata beside the Beardmore Glacier. ... [T]he presence of the coal in the baggage of the dead, and the proud neatness of the final camp, are vestiges of will and intention.⁴⁵⁷

The fictionalised tableau for Ponting's camera presages the last physical performance of exploration for Scott's group, in which photographs have become a physical requirement not just an appended illustration. Ultimately, Spufford restores these Antarctic heroes to people. They are caught up in and produced by the imaginaries of their own and subsequent times. They are emblematic, symbolic and collective, but they are also physical, individual, alone and, of course, mortal.

American writer Stephen Pyne's heroic-era time, meanwhile, is that of modernity, and an interplay of presence and absence which highlights the shifting values of the early twentieth century. He provides a meditation on Antarctica in response to being there, focused around the continent's ubiquitous physicality, ice.⁴⁵⁸ Pyne's Antarctica is no blank canvas⁴⁵⁹ awaiting the daubs of European culture. "It is not what they find in Antarctica that sustains these humans but what they bring to it and surrender to The Ice."⁴⁶⁰ Indeed, he argues, "[i]n the end, explorers and the civilizations that sent them

⁴⁵⁷ Spufford, *I May Be Some Time : Ice and the English Imagination*, 337.

⁴⁵⁸ Pyne, *The Ice : A Journey to Antarctica*, 2. The focus on ice also provides an interesting counterpoint to Pyne's more frequent subject, fire. See, for example, Stephen J. Pyne, *Fire in America : A Cultural History of Wildland and Rural Fire*, ed. Stephen J. Pyne, Pbk. ed., *Cycle of Fire*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997).

⁴⁵⁹ See discussions of this idea in Stevens, "Cold Colonies: Antarctic Spatialities and Mawson and McMurdo Stations," 234, 49. and Dodds, "Settlement and Unsettling in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Antarctica," 149.

⁴⁶⁰ Pyne, *The Ice : A Journey to Antarctica*, 56.

did not discover The Ice so much as The Ice allowed them to discover themselves.”⁴⁶¹ Here Antarctica, like a photograph, becomes a place for personal reflection, and the polar plateau a “... vast imperfect mirror reflecting back the character of the person and civilization that gazed upon it.”⁴⁶²

While past exploration provided an abundance of information, encounter and anecdote, Pyne’s Antarctica is an information sink.⁴⁶³ Information requires contrast, and there is none of this in the Antarctic interior.⁴⁶⁴ “Without a biotic and cultural environment, not only was exploration more difficult, but discovery lost most of its charm...”, and the traditional travelogue turns inwards in Antarctica to become a monologue.⁴⁶⁵ Like the glass of the photographic negatives that reflected and refracted the experience, this analytical reflexivity and the break with linear notions of history are devices of Benjaminian modernity.

Even as the great flurry of expeditions sailed south and sledged across the ice – full of visions of Humboldt, Kipling, and Robert Service – the intellectual explosion that would be called modernism was revolutionizing science, art, and literature. As participants in intellectual history, the explorers of the heroic age were splendid anachronisms, the last and purest of a breed for which Antarctica had offered a final refuge.⁴⁶⁶

But this refuge was temporary and eventually the explorers did return ‘home’, in Spufford’s words as “polar Rip Van Winkles” ,⁴⁶⁷ a vestige of the Edwardian era preserved by the Antarctic ice while the world quaked at the onslaught of World War I and the attitudinal shifts of modernism.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 67.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ Ibid., 201.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 91.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., 92.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 89.

⁴⁶⁷ He refers here specifically to Shackleton’s returning *Endurance* party in 1916, Spufford, *I May Be Some Time : Ice and the English Imagination*, 252.

While Pyne considers that no important exchanges occurred between modernism and Antarctic exploration,⁴⁶⁸ I would like to suggest that the presence of photography created, to use Burke's term, a scene, within which modernist modalities might emerge. Elena Glasberg has suggested similarly that a particular Ponting photograph, whose abstracted graphic elements focus on an X in the ice formed by intersecting sledge and penguin tracks, provides a toehold for a modernist enactment.⁴⁶⁹ In addition to its pictorial output, however, the behaviours, materials and attitudes of early twentieth century photography suggest a seeding of modernity within Antarctic exploration. As Pyne himself explains, the interplay of explorer and local human guide was replaced in Antarctica "... by a more abstract flow of information from distant prosthetic devices interrogating a geography relentlessly hostile to human presence and alien to traditional human understanding."⁴⁷⁰ Photography was clearly one such device and this expressive estrangement and fractured introversion, Pyne suggests, renders the Antarctic explorer not so much a romantic hero as an existentialist one or a modernist anti-hero.⁴⁷¹

Photographs are with Pyne too, but within a twentieth century art construct. He returns to familiar ground to compare and contrast the work of Ponting and Hurley, considering whether their photographs are primarily documentary evidence or works of art, and which are most "successful" in these paradigms.⁴⁷² For Pyne, as for many writers, the discussion of photography in Antarctic exploration is a discussion of photographers, and two photographers in particular.

⁴⁶⁸ Pyne, *The Ice : A Journey to Antarctica*, 155.

⁴⁶⁹ Sayle, "The Groke," fn 3, 23.

⁴⁷⁰ Pyne, *The Ice : A Journey to Antarctica*, 68.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 89.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 177-79.

5.2.2 Modalities, photographs and marking

Pyne suggests that Antarctica is not a traditional landscape in minimal form, but an environment that relentlessly simplifies any ideas brought to it.⁴⁷³ Antarctica is not a passive backdrop for human actions but a force that shapes responses, modes of action and physicalities, and imprints itself upon the equipment, clothing and bodies of those who address it. John Wylie has considered the physicality of Antarctic exploration, demonstrating place to be an active participant in the strategies involved with 'being Antarctic'.⁴⁷⁴

Thinking within a context of European imperialism, Wylie, like Pyne, favours a model of hybridity over the notional projection of values and actions onto a blank space. Here discourse and practice are intertwined in a "... mutual and dynamic fashioning of selves and landscapes...", and context does not mean location but "... is a generative force that is the condition of possibility for the intelligibility and visibility of colonial discourses."⁴⁷⁵ This recalls Burke's scene-act construction, but makes the scene something more than simply the place or time in which an act occurs. In Wylie's argument, for example, the nature of a group's occupancy of the sea *en route* to Antarctica changes the nature of the sea. In the case of Roald Amundsen's party aboard the *Fram* the 'secret' decision to alter their course from the Arctic to the Antarctic, renders the sea something which colludes to hide and propel them towards their goal, providing a covert mobility which also informs their motion upon Antarctica's surface.⁴⁷⁶ By contrast, Scott's group and the *Terra Nova* move from England to Antarctica via a corridor of English outposts and receptions relying upon and performing "... anew the stitched and settled lattices of imperial space."⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 153.

⁴⁷⁴ John Wylie, "Earthly Poles: The Antarctic Voyages of Scott and Amundsen," in *Postcolonial Geographies*, ed. Alison and C McEwan Blunt (New York, N.Y. ; London: Continuum, 2002), 170-71.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 171-72.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 173.

It is in their traverse of the Antarctic ice that Wylie finds the greatest point of difference between these parties. The movements of the English arise from an attempt to master the ice through sustained effort, while the Norwegians adapt to the environment, seeking to be at home within it.⁴⁷⁸ While the English ponder a Christian-derived providence weighing over their passage, the Norwegians pragmatically liken the experience to ski touring. Scott brought scientists and artists (including the 'camera artist' Ponting) to shape the events that would unfold and be remembered during his endeavours, while Amundsen travelled in the company of sail makers, cobblers and iron mongers.⁴⁷⁹ During the Antarctic winter, the Norwegians hibernate, while the English constantly sally forth into the great outdoors, taking constitutional strolls whenever possible, enacting ownership of their immediate surroundings and physically expressing a belief system which activates Antarctica as a place of aesthetic and spiritual health.⁴⁸⁰ Of course, Ponting is the rambler *par excellence* of Scott's party. He never pushes through to bigger-scale sledging, but is constantly making short journeys in the vicinity of the base, involved in mentally, physically and photographically exercising his value set in a way which is shaped and challenged by the environment in which he operates.

Wylie refers to this embodiment of material practices as "becoming icy".⁴⁸¹ His approach recalls the Burkean doing of human existence, and the physicality of rhetoric which aligns so well with the operation of photographs. Wylie's thinking is done largely through word sources,⁴⁸² but it places words about actions at the centre of analysis, demonstrating that there are other ways to think than with text alone. He

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 174-76.

⁴⁷⁹ John Wylie, "Becoming Icy: Scott and Amundsen's South Polar Voyages, 1910-1913," *Cultural Geographies* 9 (2002): 156.

⁴⁸⁰ Wylie, "Earthly Poles: The Antarctic Voyages of Scott and Amundsen," 179-81.

⁴⁸¹ Wylie, "Becoming Icy: Scott and Amundsen's South Polar Voyages, 1910-1913."

⁴⁸² See, for example, references to expedition diaries, memoirs and polar histories in Wylie, "Earthly Poles: The Antarctic Voyages of Scott and Amundsen," 176-77., and methodology discussed in Wylie, "Becoming Icy: Scott and Amundsen's South Polar Voyages, 1910-1913," 250.

also highlights an idea from Spufford of a perceptual present tense in which the polar story operates, keeping hope helplessly alive, and absorbing every teller into its narrative.⁴⁸³ Wylie's Antarctic time is the now of the perceiver. He does not set out to reveal some previously unheralded meaning, but to resituate and renew what is already known.⁴⁸⁴ Here is Burke's sky hook, and the idea argued by Batchen and others that the important thing is that thinking take place, not that it definitively prove some assertion or argument.

Kathryn Yusoff has also considered embodied practice in heroic-era exploration, but by reference to its photographs.⁴⁸⁵ Working within a geographical paradigm, she uses the work of Benjamin and Barthes as a theoretical trigger, pursuing a particular interest in the momentary nature of the photograph and its ability to suspend time but also to refer across time, creating new orders of events and new histories. Taking a cue from Barthes, she describes photography as a clock for seeing,⁴⁸⁶ highlighting a linearity in 'before and after' photographs which creates a chronogeography for configuring narratives of exploration.⁴⁸⁷ Once again, she turns to Ponting's photographs, pursuing a resonance between the mark making of geographical exploration, and the bodily marking of the explorers by their presence in Antarctica.⁴⁸⁸ Yusoff considers two photographs of Apsley Cherry-Garrard's winter sledging party, one taken before departure, the other after their return from what Cherry-Garrard would famously call "The Worst Journey in the World".⁴⁸⁹ In the second photograph the optimistic, clean shaven and energetic young men of the first, have become exhausted, dishevelled and hursuit. Yusoff observes that in the second

⁴⁸³ Wylie, "Becoming Icy: Scott and Amundsen's South Polar Voyages, 1910-1913," 250, 63.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.: 263.

⁴⁸⁵ Kathryn Yusoff, "Antarctic Exposure: Archives of the Feeling Body," *Cultural Geographies* 14, no. 2 (2007): 211.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.: 229. Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 15.

⁴⁸⁷ Yusoff, "Antarctic Exposure: Archives of the Feeling Body," 217-18.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid.: 218.

⁴⁸⁹ Apsley Cherry-Garrard, *The Worst Journey in the World : Antarctic, 1910-1913*, 2nd ed. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1937).

photograph even the men's faces are altered, a register of time's passing [and Antarctica experienced] marked upon their bodies.⁴⁹⁰

Yusoff uses Barthes' *punctum* as a means of addressing these photographs, locating the wound in the difference between the men before and after the expedition. Her *punctum* is relational. It does not reside in or around either photograph in isolation, but in a beyond space where the two coalesce, and is a function of the now of her looking at them.⁴⁹¹ The invisibility of the Antarctic landscape to the camera, impressed here by the winter absence of light, is refracted to the visibility of its effects on the body of the explorer. Thus, for Yusoff, the human body becomes a landscape of affect.⁴⁹²

It is interesting to compare this pair of photographs to another of Ponting's photographic sledging parties. Here, it is 1911's Western and Southern parties, returning to Ponting's territory at the expedition's base. The starved and exhausted group sat down to eat and recount their experiences during which Ponting

... contemplated the picturesque and unkempt appearance of the party with satisfaction and approval, as suitable for richly enhancing my growing photographic collection. As soon, therefore, as I was able to lure them from the table, I took a group of them all, minus their windproof overalls. Having dealt with them thus collectively, I proceeded to gather them in individually in full Polar kit. To my intense disgust, however, Petty Officers Evans and Crean had clipped their bushy, black beards before their turn came around, leaving only a lot of bristles that were sufficient to dismay any self-respecting camera.

... The next morning, the party, clean and in clean clothes, presented such a conventional, well-groomed appearance that they were no longer of any photographic interest.⁴⁹³

With all the tense hunger of a butterfly collector raising his net, Ponting reaches out for his brief opportunity to capture this 'type specimen' for his collection, before its

⁴⁹⁰ Yusoff, "Antarctic Exposure: Archives of the Feeling Body," 221.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.: 223.

⁴⁹² Ibid.: 222.

⁴⁹³ Ponting, *The Great White South*, 110.

fleeting existence is lost. The story is a reminder that photographic moments are not necessarily or fixedly binary, but more often faltering, reflexive, dispersed or even circular, and that 'before and after' may in fact simply be two points of 'doing'.

Yusoff encounters Ponting's photographs as reproductions in books⁴⁹⁴ and considers the photograph to be "... ultimately impermanent as a material image, its visible life ... only assured by more resilient reproductive technologies and the ideological apparatus that desires reproduction."⁴⁹⁵ Her approach to photographs is based on picture content and speculation about photographer's intent, and as such is quite different to my own which is strongly informed by the experience of historic photographs as physical and collective objects, not much less enduring than many other coexistent materialities, and where the ideology that desires fetishes is as at least as important as that which desires reproduction.

Yusoff's grounding as a geographer involves her thinking with the construction of place and the intersections between subjectivities, cultures and nature. Thus, elsewhere, she has looked more broadly at the operation of photographs in the construction of heroic-era Antarctica. Here she argues that the Antarctic interior had no pre-photographic moment, since its approach by humans coincides wholly with its approach by the camera, and therefore that the Antarctic field is configured through photography.⁴⁹⁶ However, Antarctica was imagined before it was encountered physically and this imagining continues to haunt photographs in the white space of the void.⁴⁹⁷ Thus, a remnant of the unpredictable and uncoded lurks doubly in heroic-era photographs. The camera brings Antarctica, where human time previously had no meaning, into the globalising drive of modernism, establishing photographic time, in the fragmentary sense described by Benjamin, as Antarctica's time, expressed and

⁴⁹⁴ Yusoff, "Antarctic Exposure: Archives of the Feeling Body," 219.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.: 221.

⁴⁹⁶ Yusoff, "Configuring the Field: Photography in Early Twentieth-Century Antarctic Exploration," 54.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., 76.

marked through the construction of a photographic landscape which is both situational and corporeal.⁴⁹⁸

Once again Yusoff turns to Ponting and Hurley,⁴⁹⁹ observing that the Antarctic landscape worked against early twentieth century photography. It lacked recognisable forms with which to create suitable backgrounds and foregrounds, offering only a “... blank excess of whiteness ...” to the period’s simple lenses, which lacked depth of field.⁵⁰⁰ As a result, these photographs focus on close ups and human and animal subjects. This may certainly be true for the kinds of photographs where grand vistas and awe-inspiring landscapes might be expected, as in the work of the professionals. However, looking across the wider range photographs made on these expeditions, other reasons might emerge for the creation of this type of picture, key among which is the ‘snapshot eye’, where close ups of people, animals and recreation were already the norm.

Like Spufford and Pyne, Yusoff also believes that the lack of an indigenous human population turned the customarily ethnographic eye inward to the explorers, creating “... a pictorial void organised by the explorers’ activities.”⁵⁰¹ She maintains a difference between the introversion of written accounts and that of photographs, however, which turns on the emotional, fragmentary and acutely empathetic photographic moment.

While written diaries gave a fairly robust account of continuous drudgery and hardship, the cameras offered the capture of extraordinary moments of engagement – football games in the snow, hammy rehearsals of putting up a tent, gramophone records played to penguins, men with dogs, men with ponies, men with men, and finally men in pieces.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 56, 71.

⁴⁹⁹ She illustrates photographs by other men, eg figure 3.1 taken by Shackleton on the *Discovery* expedition, but these stand as captioned pictures rather than forming a substantial part of the textual discussion. Ibid., 53.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 57.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., 72.

⁵⁰² Ibid., 57, 59.

Again, this may be true for the highly articulated photographs of Ponting and Hurley, but the conventions of snapshot photography also persist, albeit in incongruous places and incongruous clothing. For many of these men photography is something done previously, at least in front of the camera, and definitely something that is part of the taken for granted mood of the early twentieth century. Unlike an indigenous population freshly encountered by European explorers, behaviours and technologies, these men already know how to play the photograph game and consciously enter into, or subvert, this performance whenever a camera is pulled out. "... [T]hey had come from and were already embedded in a relation to photography and the photographic potential of their expeditions."⁵⁰³

Following Wylie, it is also necessary to acknowledge the influence of photography on the practices and performances of exploration. The presence and operation of official photographers impacted on the behaviour of the men, who were asked to pose, sometimes at considerable personal risk,⁵⁰⁴ and to stage representative scenes for their cameras, in a pantomime theatricality⁵⁰⁵ which doubtless trickled down to performances for other cameras. The impact of photography on the modality of being icy might also be encountered in more subtle manifestations. Stops might be taken on a sledging journey, for example, at appropriately scenic or dramatic points to make a photograph, or paths broken to reach these points. Unchoreographed pauses might occur in the driving narrative of forward momentum across the ice as equipment is unpacked and cameras set up. Certain clothing might be worn at unnecessary times, and certain individuals might seek to appear happy, or concerned, or exhausted, or disinterested as the photographic moment required. All of this contributes, as Spufford suggested, to the invocation of human will in a prohibitive environment.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., 59.

⁵⁰⁴ Ponting, *The Great White South*, 172-73.

⁵⁰⁵ Yusoff, "Configuring the Field: Photography in Early Twentieth-Century Antarctic Exploration," 64.

Considerable space had to be made on sledges for the wooden and metal cameras, glass negatives and other weighty equipment of the official photographers, increasing the demand on haulers or requiring that other items, or else the photographer, had to be left behind. Darkrooms required precious space on ships and in huts, and the performance of additional routine tasks such as collecting and melting ice to provide water for developing. The overriding will that photographs be made rendered Antarctic exploration, at least partially, performatively photographic. Indeed, individuals might find themselves included in, or excluded from, particular events and places primarily because of their photographic skills. The expeditions had to make space for photography physically, attitudinally, chronologically and behaviourally and these accommodations render photography more than a neutral register of marks made in other ways. Photography itself is written upon Antarctic explorers and Antarctic exploration. It is not a disinterested portal through which other ideologies and behaviours can pass unimpeded. It does not stand outside of its own performance.

And, as Yusoff points out, the stakes were high for all activities in Antarctic exploration, including photography.⁵⁰⁶ Presenting oneself to the camera in this context, particularly to the camera of Ponting or Hurley, meant putting oneself into history.⁵⁰⁷ “... [T]he explorer had to absorb and embody the spectre of his life existing beyond that moment, and ultimately beyond his death.”⁵⁰⁸ Of course, being photographed at any time involves this awareness to some degree, but it is reasonable to expect that it might have been felt intensely here. Again, photographs taken less formally carry less certainty of an externalised and long-lived viewing, although the mood in which all of the undertakings of the heroic era were performed suggests a belief in, and perhaps a desire for, enduring recognition.

⁵⁰⁶ The photographs taken by Scott’s party at the South Pole, for example, were paid for with their lives. *Ibid.*, 66.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

Patricia Millar, meanwhile, has sought to address the deficiency of detailed examination of Ponting's photographs by using a visual semiotics methodology. Given this approach, it follows that Millar continues to emphasise Ponting as the 'master photographer', drawing strongly on biographical and textual construction and cultural positioning. She notes that for all his skill and fame, Ponting is seldom seen in general histories of photography,⁵⁰⁹ his synonymity with Antarctic exploration perhaps paradoxically working to thwart his recognition in wider photographic circles. Millar's analysis demonstrates Ponting's work to be solitary and interior by comparison to the collective outdoor activities common to exploratory practice. She notes that he is frequently pictured in his own photographs but rarely with other people, underlining, she believes, an unease that is commonly held to characterise Ponting's place on the expedition, as well as confounding the notion of the master photographer as external to what is photographed.

Following a detailed discussion of 38 photographs and Ponting's cine film, Millar concludes,

A connecting theme throughout the work is Ponting's expression of his own personal and professional role. ... In the years after Antarctica, he remained fixated on the expedition, dedicated to keeping alive the public's memory of it and its tragedy. On a personal level, in his obsession he was also validating his own part on the expedition, his camera artist persona, his life.⁵¹⁰

In Ponting's photographs Millar has found a reasonable approximation of the accepted myth of his life. She has not crossed any lines or challenged any of the ideas already in circulation about him – she has, perhaps, found pretty much what she was looking for. For all its social and cultural positioning, her reading of this photographic experience also becomes primarily personal, speaking more about Ponting than it does about any particular notion of Antarctica, a reminder that photographs are about the lived experiences of individuals as much as they are about their participation in or exclusion from wider narratives and events.

⁵⁰⁹ Patricia Margaret Millar, "Camera Artist in Antarctica: Herbert Ponting's Images of Scott's Last Expedition" (BA Honours, University of Tasmania, 2009), 25.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., 89-90.

5.3 *Summary*

Like so many writers, Millar approaches these photographs as Ponting's and his alone. This flows easily from the visual/pictorial paradigm which dominates the discussion, but my photographic exploration has led me to expect photographs to be much more than pictures. For me, the story of photographs in heroic-era Antarctica cannot be told through the story of two (or any number of) photographers alone. There has certainly been some important thinking done about heroic-era photographs in recent years, and some important thinking in other areas that helps to shape a place for photographs there. However, no-one has yet approached these photographs on their own complex and nuanced terms, and no-one has looked beyond the stranglehold of the two professionals.

After introducing Joyce and his Antarctic activities, then, I shall return to my model of thinking with photographs, one that sits well with some of this recent thinking about Antarctic exploration, but one that must activate photographs as collective, material and emotional as much as visual, ideological and pictorial.

6 Ernest Edward Mills Joyce: constructions of a life

The second part of my contextualising process involves considering the ideas that circulate about Joyce and his Antarctic activities. While he has not featured prominently in mainstream discussions of heroic-era Antarctica, there remains a complexity of detail in the accounts and counter-accounts of Joyce's exploits that begs deeper consideration. My objective here is not to enter into debates about the truth or inaccuracy of various assertions, or to rehearse in any great detail the events of the Antarctic expeditions in which he was involved. Rather, I aim to sketch a background for thinking with his photographs by considering, within a biographical framework, some of the key assertions made by and about Joyce. From this, I suggest, emerges an overriding sense of anticipation and of transition suspended. Joyce's unresolved struggle is between choice and fatalism, collectivism and individuality, fame and obscurity, and, ultimately, between the attitudinal responsibilities and challenges of modernity and the secure but stifling predictability of Victorian and Edwardian lives. I will take the semantic silhouette developed here, along with the constructions of heroic-era Antarctica discussed in Chapter five, with me to think with Joyce's photographs in the next chapter and to consider how this shift in analytical focus shapes my impressions of Joyce and Joyce's Antarctica.

6.1 *The early years and the first expeditions*

Ernest Edward Mills Joyce took part in the *Discovery*, *Nimrod* and Ross Sea Party expeditions. A G E Jones provided a summary of Joyce's life in 1984 which notes that Joyce was born in 1875 at the Bognor Coast Guard Station in southern England. His father was a former Naval Rating and as a result, and following his father's death, Joyce was educated at the Royal Hospital School at Greenwich. The logical

progression was a place in the Royal Navy, which Joyce entered as a Boy at the age of fifteen.⁵¹¹ Jones reinforces a widely held impression of Joyce when he writes:

Those first years help to explain one side of Joyce's character: his deference to officers, his simple loyalty, his reliability when given a specific task, his ability to turn his hand to many things, his willingness to help, his lack of initiative and his inability to lead outside the set pattern of the Navy.⁵¹²

This assessment clearly situates Joyce within the Victorian/Edwardian paradigm of the Royal Navy 'lifer', bound and constricted by rules and hierarchies, but safe within a tradition that relieves the lower ranks of significant personal responsibility, while still allowing for a measured degree of personal and social advancement. However, as Jones suggests, and events soon indicate, there is more to Joyce than this.

6.1.1 *Discovery*

During the Anglo/South African War, Joyce, now a Rating,⁵¹³ was stationed at Simon's Town where the *Discovery* called *en route* to Antarctica and where Scott discharged three men. Scott asked the Commander of the station for replacements and Joyce was among the four chosen from 400 volunteers. By this time Joyce had served 16 years in the Royal Navy and would now also begin to amass considerable experience on the Antarctic ice. He put in more than 100 days sledging during the *Discovery* expedition⁵¹⁴ and was part of a group that attempted to climb Mt Erebus. He also met and sledged with Ernest Shackleton, a year older than Joyce, with a strong Merchant Navy background, and third lieutenant on the *Discovery*. Joyce suffered severely from frostbite during the expedition and this is the only mention he rates in Scott's account.⁵¹⁵ In later life Joyce produced a number of autobiographical

⁵¹¹ Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 429.

⁵¹² Ibid.: 430.

⁵¹³ Jones states, "... for ratings discipline was still strict: they were treated like children." Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ A. L. A. Mackintosh et al., *Shackleton's Lieutenant : The Nimrod Diary of A.L.A. Mackintosh, British Antarctic Expedition, 1907-09* (Auckland, N.Z.: Polar Publications, 1990), 119. Fn 1

⁵¹⁵ He suffered frostbite in his hands and feet while sledging in September 1903. Robert Falcon Scott, *The Voyage of the Discovery*, Cheap Edition ed. (London: John Murray, 1929), 566-67.

fragments, including one entitled *Joyce*, "... the name that he was known [by] throughout the Navy and Exploring World".⁵¹⁶ Here, Joyce considers his selection for *Discovery* quite logical since he was

... in every way eligible, a good all round sportsman, wonderful physique, a splendid seaman and just the sort of man who was required for such an undertaking.⁵¹⁷

Of his motivation to join the expedition Joyce states that he told Scott, "Well sir, I was born in the navy, lived in the navy and this is the chance I can see of learning something else and getting away from naval discipline."⁵¹⁸

For Joyce, Antarctica spelt the opportunity for a "new life",⁵¹⁹ one which was presented by chance rather than long-standing ambition.⁵²⁰ Like much of his writing, *Joyce* is composed from memory and desire, and is a device for tracing a line to the Ross Sea Party. Here, Joyce notes that he was selected for the first sledging party onto the ice from the *Discovery*, a journey which lasted one day, but fourteen years later he would spend 200 days sledging on the same Barrier with the Ross Sea Party.⁵²¹

The *Discovery* returned to England to great acclaim, at the height of which Scott delivered a public lantern slide lecture at the Albert Hall in London to an audience of over 7000. Before the lecture, presentations were made, and among the group of dignitaries, officers and crew assembled on stage in anticipation of recognition by the Royal Geographical Society, was Ernest Joyce.⁵²² Scott's lecture lasted 90 minutes,

⁵¹⁶ Ernest E Mills Joyce, "Joyce," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library: Undated, ca 1930), Folder 7.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

⁵²¹ Ibid.

⁵²² He and others were to receive a Royal Geographical Society medal for their achievements on the expedition. However, the medals were not ready in time so a single dummy medal was presented to Scott on behalf of the group. David E. Yelverton, *Antarctica Unveiled : Scott's First Expedition and the Quest for the Unknown Continent* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2000), 329.

using 150 slides, and was met with thunderous and spontaneous applause.⁵²³ This first massed experience of celebrity and recognition for Joyce was surely imprinted strongly by photographs and lantern lecturing.

In another autobiographical fragment, Joyce states that after *Discovery* Scott declared,

Joyce was one of my best men, a fine character, reliable in an emergency. A good sledging companion, ... Joyce is a credit to his selectors. To the Expedition and the British Navy.⁵²⁴

Certainly, on Scott's recommendation, Joyce was awarded the Polar Medal after *Discovery* and promoted to Petty Officer First Class.⁵²⁵ After a stint in a training role at the gunnery school at Portsmouth, Joyce's first long-service engagement came to an end and he took his Naval discharge at the end of 1905. However, he rejoined in 1906 "... tired of the humdrum of outside life ..."⁵²⁶ only to buy himself out of service again in 1907 to join Shackleton's *Nimrod* expedition.⁵²⁷

6.1.2 *Nimrod*

The question of chance versus destiny arises again in a tale that surrounds Joyce's inclusion in the *Nimrod* party, according to which Shackleton looked one day out of the window of his Regent Street office in London to see Joyce passing on an omnibus, and sent his secretary running to offer him a position.⁵²⁸ Joyce accepted the offer and returned from his London leave to the Naval Boom Defence at Gibraltar where he duly received a cable from Shackleton formally inviting him to take part.⁵²⁹ "The lure

⁵²³ Ibid., 328-29.

⁵²⁴ Ernest E Mills Joyce, "The History of Ernest E Mills Joyce Am," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: Undated, ca 1925).

⁵²⁵ Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 431.

⁵²⁶ Presented as a quote from Joyce, but unsourced, in Ibid.

⁵²⁷ Ibid.

⁵²⁸ Ibid. Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 22.

⁵²⁹ Joyce, "Joycey," Folder 7.

of the silent south [was] strong..." and Joyce "... threw up his job and pension to return there."⁵³⁰

Jones notes that Joyce was so pleased with this appointment that he wrote to Naval Commander in Chief Sir Arthur Moore to inform him of developments, commenting, "Even though the C.-in-C. was a kindly man, it was not usual for a rating to write a private letter to a flag officer, but that self-confidence was quite in keeping with Joyce."⁵³¹ For all his indoctrination in the ways of the Royal Navy, then, it would seem that Joyce was not afraid to use the system to his own ends, and that his sense of individual importance was on the rise.

Joyce, fellow Navy man Frank Wild, and Shackleton were the only *Nimrod* expedition members with Antarctic experience,⁵³² and this sense of experiential expertise is something Joyce treasured dearly and built with intensity. Joyce and Wild also played up their 'sea dog' personae, sharing a sleeping compartment called the 'Rogues Retreat' in the *Nimrod* hut at Cape Royds, its name inscribed on a sign above the door, painted by expedition artist George Marston, and showing two "... very tough customers drinking beer out of pint mugs..."⁵³³ Wild and Joyce also shared this cubicle with the printing press on which they produced the *Aurora Australis*, the first book printed in Antarctica.

Joyce was "...in charge of general stores, dogs, sledges and zoological collections"⁵³⁴ and learned taxidermy by skinning and preserving nine Weddell seals.⁵³⁵ Beau

⁵³⁰ Ernest E Mills Joyce, "Joyce," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library: Undated, ca 1930), Folder 7.

⁵³¹ Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 431-32. Of course, it would appear the Joyce was actually a Petty Officer by this time, but the comment would presumably still hold true.

⁵³² Beau Riffenburgh, *Shackleton's Forgotten Expedition: The Voyage of the Nimrod* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2004), 4.

⁵³³ Ernest Shackleton, *The Heart of the Antarctic*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: William Heinemann, 1909), 147.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

Riffenburgh notes that Joyce was the only man interested in working with the dogs at the base. The others enjoyed them primarily as pets.⁵³⁶ Joyce again played a significant role in sledging, most prominently leading a team to lay a provisions depot at Minna Bluff for Shackleton's returning South Pole party. Joyce and his group made two trips to the Bluff, the first with basic supplies, and the second with luxuries to surprise the travellers, including plum puddings, cakes, crystallised fruit, apples and fresh boiled mutton from the ship.⁵³⁷ They were to wait at the depot for Shackleton's party until 10 February 1909 and, if the latter did not arrive, to return to the base and then to the ship for departure.⁵³⁸ In his account of the expedition, Shackleton quotes directly from Joyce's report. Arriving with their second load on 8 February, Joyce's group was uneasy that the Southern party was not awaiting them. Trapped by a blizzard until 11 February, they laid flags to guide Shackleton's group to the depot, then travelled south for several days in search of them, since by that time the party was 11 days overdue and clearly out of provisions.⁵³⁹

Here we see Joyce moving outside of the rules, exercising personal initiative, and going an extra distance firstly to surprise, celebrate and nurture others, and secondly to attempt to ensure their physical survival. The knock back of exclusion from Shackleton's inner circle in the Polar party had not caused Joyce to retreat into rule-bound bitterness. Rather, a personal pride in his own work and in his contribution to the success of the collective undertaking appears to motivate him as, undoubtedly, did the extra benefits Shackleton had promised for the successful performance of these tasks. Although generous, these benefits were conditional on certain other, arguably unlikely, events occurring.⁵⁴⁰ They never materialised and neither did Joyce's 'bonuses'.

⁵³⁵ Riffenburgh, *Shackleton's Forgotten Expedition: The Voyage of the Nimrod*, 211.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁵³⁷ Shackleton, *The Heart of the Antarctic*, Vol 1, 366. Shackleton, *The Heart of the Antarctic*, Vol 2, 52, 56.

⁵³⁸ Shackleton, *The Heart of the Antarctic*, Vol 1, 256.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 57.

⁵⁴⁰ Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 254.

The first edition of Shackleton's account of the *Nimrod* expedition contains a number of photographs. Joyce appears in two or three, and several are in his collection, although none of those in which he is named. The photographs are not individually credited, but Shackleton acknowledges them as coming from the thousands taken by 12 men (of the 16 in the shore party), including Joyce.⁵⁴¹ It is now certain that Joyce has entered consciously into the performance of photography in Antarctica, both in front of and behind the camera, and he will also come to move within networks of exchange where photographs become tokens of association as much as pictures.

Following the *Nimrod* expedition, Jones notes that Joyce returned to London with Shackleton and received the Royal Geographical Society medal. He also mentions that Joyce looked to Shackleton for additional financial compensation, claiming he had bought himself out of the Navy and lost his pension rights on the strength of a promise to this effect.⁵⁴² Although Joyce was not the only man dissatisfied with his compensation,⁵⁴³ Jones concludes that there was "... no clear evidence either way, and it would [sic] well have been a try-on."⁵⁴⁴ However, this idea of Joyce as dissatisfied by a lack of recognition, and carrying a sense of injustice, has taken root. It contrasts with Joyce's other activities immediately after the expedition. For example, he accompanied Shackleton on his lecture tour of England, and was put in charge of the expedition's 'floating exhibition' of equipment and photographs aboard the *Aurora*, on the Thames in London⁵⁴⁵ and later in Liverpool, Manchester and

⁵⁴¹ Ernest Shackleton, *The Heart of the Antarctic Being the Story of the British Antarctic Expedition 1907-1909*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (London: William Heinemann, 1909), x.

⁵⁴² Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 432. Joyce makes the same claim about his pension in Joyce, "The History of Ernest E Mills Joyce Am."

⁵⁴³ Riffenburgh, *Shackleton's Forgotten Expedition: The Voyage of the Nimrod*, 301-02.

⁵⁴⁴ Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 432. An apparent transcript of a letter from Shackleton, in Joyce's hand, dated during the *Nimrod* expedition outlines a number of financial benefits apparently promised to Joyce after his depot-laying role was confirmed. This transcript is incomplete, however, and the location of the original is not known. Ernest E Mills (presumed) Joyce, "Letter of Recommendation for Ernest Mills Joyce," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: Undated), Folder 5.

⁵⁴⁵ Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 432.

Newcastle.⁵⁴⁶ These 'public relations' duties do not accord with an embittered man disillusioned, in particular, by his involvement with Shackleton.

In 1911, Joyce became involved with the planning for his *Nimrod* colleague, Douglas Mawson's, Australasian Antarctic Expedition (on the *Aurora*). It is widely believed that he selected the expedition's 38 dogs in Copenhagen and travelled with them to Tasmania. However, Beau Riffenburgh has since established that Joyce took the dogs only as far as London, and was called to Australia later to help with their training.⁵⁴⁷ Jones states that it was intended that Joyce take charge of one of the four bases Mawson planned to establish on the Australian side of the Antarctic continent,⁵⁴⁸ but, shortly after Joyce arrived in Australia, Mawson revised his plans, excluding Joyce from the expedition altogether. In Jones' estimation this was because in Tasmania "... Joyce spent too much time in the hotels and drank too much ..." and because of Mawson's discomfort with Joyce's "flamboyance".⁵⁴⁹ Yet another side to Joyce's character emerges here, although Jones concludes that his shore behaviour was typical of Naval life and he would have settled to be a responsible member of the expedition once underway.⁵⁵⁰ Whether or not any of this is true, Joyce's Antarctic expedition that never was cements a commonly asserted paradox by which Joyce's personal passion and flamboyance vie with his apparent attitudinal immersion in the Naval way of life.

6.2 Joyce's final Antarctic expedition: *The Ross Sea Party*, "..."

⁵⁴⁶ Riffenburgh, *Shackleton's Forgotten Expedition: The Voyage of the Nimrod*, 295.

⁵⁴⁷ Beau Riffenburgh, Email to Kerry McCarthy, 24 March 2009.

⁵⁴⁸ Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 432.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.; Joyce himself notes cryptically in one of his autobiographical fragments, "... had row did not proceed", Ernest E Mills Joyce, "Romance of an Explorer: The Life-Story of Edward Mills Joyce Am," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: Undated), folder 4.

⁵⁵⁰ Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 432.

the worst crowd of ruffians unhung”⁵⁵¹

Joyce remained in Australia for several years, working as a wharf-master at Bowen in Queensland, and later managing a seaman’s hostel for the Sydney Harbour Trust.⁵⁵² It was here that Shackleton contacted him in 1914 with an invitation to join the Ross Sea Party, again aboard the *Aurora*, in charge of transport equipment, stores, sledges and clothing. He also promised extra pay for a zoological collection.⁵⁵³ The South Pole having then been attained, Shackleton’s goal was to land a party on the Weddell Sea side of Antarctica and make the first trans-continental trek to the Ross Sea zone. The Ross Sea Party, including Joyce, would lay a series of depots as far as Mt Hope on the Beardmore Glacier in support of this trek.

As it transpired, Shackleton never reached Antarctica proper⁵⁵⁴ but unaware of this, the men of the Ross Sea Party began to settle into their duties on the ice, expecting the ship to remain part of their base over winter. However, the *Aurora* was suddenly pulled away by breaking ice in May 1915, leaving a group of 10 men stranded at Scott’s former Cape Evans base with the supplies they needed for the depots, but no general provisions, only the clothing they were wearing, and little gear for sledging.⁵⁵⁵ They were caught in an impossible situation with Shackleton’s party apparently relying on them for their survival but without the equipment they needed to support themselves or their work. Through scavenging, improvisation and grim determination, the Ross Sea Party managed to achieve what it was sent to do. Three men died in the process of laying these depots for explorers who would never arrive,

⁵⁵¹ Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 178.

⁵⁵² Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 432.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*: 433.

⁵⁵⁴ For Shackleton’s narrative of this expedition see, Ernest Shackleton, *South: The Story of Shackleton's 1914-1917 Expedition* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1929).

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 163.

and after the expedition, Joyce, and three others, were awarded the Albert Medal⁵⁵⁶ following a petition initiated, unusually, by Joyce himself.⁵⁵⁷

6.2.1 Joyce's Ross Sea Party log: *The South Polar Trail*

It is Joyce's involvement with the Ross Sea Party that has received the greatest attention to date. This was facilitated by the publication, in 1929, of *The South Polar Trail*, a version of his Ross Sea Party log, and revolves primarily around a perceived leadership wrangle between Joyce and expedition leader Captain Aeneas Mackintosh.⁵⁵⁸ This adversarial narrative of individualised power struggles is an essentially masculinist one. However, in Joyce's performance of depot-laying upon the ice I detect a distinctly feminine thread which points to other ways of thinking about Joyce's Antarctica.

The South Polar Trail differs at a number of points to the original log,⁵⁵⁹ but fellow Ross Sea Party member Dick Richards also recalled that when he made a copy of the diary while convalescing at Cape Evans shortly after the events took place, he "... at times used to blink and wonder whether [he] was there or not."⁵⁶⁰ From the outset, and more so in its revised and reconstituted published form, Joyce's narrative is an

⁵⁵⁶ McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, 266.

⁵⁵⁷ Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 254, 57-58.

⁵⁵⁸ In Jones' estimation, the reality of the depot-laying activities was that Joyce was in charge of one party and Mackintosh the other. Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 433., while McElrea and Harrowfield consider that Joyce seriously misrepresented the chain of command on the expedition. McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, 24.

⁵⁵⁹ For a thorough discussion which includes many references to the original see Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*. The original is now in private ownership in the United States having been auctioned in New Zealand in 1992 along with Joyce's copy of the *Aurora Australis*. The hand-written and typed manuscript version used for the publication is held by the Alexander Turnbull Library. Ernest E Mills Joyce, "The South Polar Trail (Manuscript)," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: ca 1928), Folder 7, 8 and 12.

imagining, both of Antarctica and of self. It also nods towards the nineteenth-century tradition of first-person exploration narratives, although by 1929, the kind of heroic tale it presents, like the events it describes, was perhaps becoming anachronistic. The passage of time and experience behind the book add a level of narrative complexity that renders *The South Polar Trail* a work of greater subtlety than the data it presents. It deserves closer consideration as a charting of desire, but here I will explore briefly just three themes that emerge on its pages, Joyce's construction of the sledging dogs, the elements of his performance of exploration which speak of a feminised and collaborative modality within this masculine environment, and the appearance of a machine construction of the human body around which threads of modernity enter the narrative.

On one level, the book is an assertion of self and connectedness, to events and to people. It is dedicated, for example, to Joyce's wife's mother and to those who died on the expedition,⁵⁶¹ while the dedication in the manuscript version reads

This log was kept specially for the benefit of my two tentmates Richy and Cope as it is rather strenuous work writing in these regions in a cold wet sleeping bag.⁵⁶²

The introduction is by Shackleton's biographer, Hugh Robert Mill, who also assisted Joyce with the preparation of the manuscript.⁵⁶³ Joyce thanks Lady Shackleton and Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Philip Lee Brocklehurst Bt., a colleague from the *Nimrod* expedition, for allowing the use of photographs, and reproduces a controversial transcript of Shackleton's letter of appointment,⁵⁶⁴ signed "Your old shipmate" and

⁵⁶⁰ Richard Richards letter to David Harrowfield, 1982, quoted in McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, 234.

⁵⁶¹ Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 4.

⁵⁶² Joyce, "The South Polar Trail (Manuscript)," Folder 8.

⁵⁶³ Nine letters from Joyce to Mill on this topic are held in the Scott Polar Research Institute. See, for example, Ernest E Mills Joyce, "Letter to H R Mill," in *H R Mill bequest* (Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge UK: 1923), Ernest E Mills Joyce, "Letter to H R Mill," in *H R Mill bequest* (Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge UK: 1924), Ernest E Mills Joyce, "Letter to H R Mill," in *H R Mill bequest* (Scott Polar Research Institute, Cambridge UK: 1928).

⁵⁶⁴ Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 28-29. See discussion in McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-*

referring to Joyce as “old chap”. Joyce’s narrative and its author, then, are to be read as something sanctioned by and connected to the highest echelons of English society and the exploring world, as well as to notions of noble sacrifice, humility, selflessness, valour and family. In this way it aspires to the established tradition of exploration narratives, a storyline which is a logical extension of the conventional Victorian/Edwardian Royal Naval paradigm. However, other devices, including the use of some of the photographs, speak of different imaginings.

The book has 61 illustrations, not all of which are in the Joyce collection as it exists today. Joyce is identified in 9 of them, including the frontispiece which shows him and the dog Oscar after completion of the depot-laying journeys. This is a relaxed photograph, a snapshot, presenting Joyce seated on the ground, seeing quite literally eye to eye with his canine counterpart. It is not the kind of formal portrait that might be expected at this situating point, subtly introducing an element of discord and suggesting that the construction of the dogs should be considered closely.

As might be expected, dogs feature prominently in Joyce’s account and in the manuscript version, which begins several months earlier than the published one, Joyce recalls his first meeting with Oscar on board ship from London to Hobart. He believes that Oscar was an outcast due to having been poorly treated and misunderstood prior to this time. Unfairly neglected and excluded from the attention lavished on the other dogs by the ship’s passengers, Joyce believes that Oscar had become morose and solitary.⁵⁶⁵ However, with Joyce’s care, and in his construction, Oscar was to become, the “... king of the dogs....”⁵⁶⁶ arguably, the ultimate hero of the Ross Sea Party, as the leader of the dog team on which the lives of the depot-laying party depended. Without wishing to leap to an overly simplistic metaphorical

17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton, 262-63., and Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 260.

⁵⁶⁵ Joyce, “The South Polar Trail (Manuscript),” Folder 7.

⁵⁶⁶ In part for his considerable size at 112lbs (around 51kgs), Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 40.

parallel between the figures of Joyce and Oscar in *The South Polar Trail*, it is interesting to note that Joyce goes to considerable lengths to give recognition to Oscar, and secondarily to the other three leading dogs, while also charting their difficulties in resettling to 'normal' life. Following this construction, the frontispiece photograph presents two maverick outsiders united in the mutual knowledge of a job well done, but not quite at ease beyond their own company.

Joyce devotes considerable energy to the welfare of the dogs. In the first sledging season he advocates on their behalf, arguing that they are not ready for the rigours of sledging immediately after arrival in Antarctica and their extended confinement on the ship.⁵⁶⁷ He is saddened as well as concerned when many die during the first season,⁵⁶⁸ leaving only six fit dogs for the even harder depot-laying of the second year.⁵⁶⁹ It is during this second season, and particularly on the return from the final depot at Mt Hope, that the dogs become the true saviours of the group. Joyce comments, "On Polar journeys the dogs are almost human, one never feels lonely when they are around."⁵⁷⁰ But the dogs are more than companions. The weakened men could not return to the base without their pulling strength⁵⁷¹ and the dogs must be "... nursed like children"⁵⁷² because they "... are our only hope. Our lives depend on them."⁵⁷³ Repeatedly Joyce describes the dogs as Trojans,⁵⁷⁴ and imbues them with human attributes such as dedication to duty.⁵⁷⁵ As things go particularly badly for the men, the dogs' spirits dip⁵⁷⁶ and as they pick up, on sighting the edge of the Barrier, the dogs also become excited.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 54.

⁵⁶⁸ Ernest E Mills Joyce, "The Great Adventure Wonders of Antarctica Explorer in Newcastle," *The Newcastle Sun*, 18 March 1919, 63, 74.

⁵⁶⁹ Shackleton, *South: The Story of Shackleton's 1914-1917 Expedition*, 165.

⁵⁷⁰ Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 66.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 153, 55.

⁵⁷² Ibid., 124.

⁵⁷³ Ibid., 138.

⁵⁷⁴ See, for example, Ibid., 135, 44, 73.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., 138.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 143, 54.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 172-73.

The men even take on attributes of the dogs when, exhausted, weakened by scurvy, and out of food they decide to trek in desperation for their final supply depot.⁵⁷⁸ “If the worst comes” Joyce writes “we have made up our minds to carry on and die in harness on the trek.”⁵⁷⁹ Similarly, he later instructs,

... dogs respond magnificently on forced marches when a party utterly exhausted must win through or go under; indeed, many a dog has pulled in its harness to its very last breath.⁵⁸⁰

The difference here, of course, is choice versus instinct, returning the imagining to one of the key meeting points of the discussion – self determination and preordained destiny.

Dogs also provide a measure of time passing. When the party finally reaches Cape Evans in mid-July 1916, after completing the depot-laying trek, they are greeted by the excited barking of dogs and remember that they had left the pregnant Bitchie there when they set out on the sledging journey. Her pups are now grown and it is through meeting them that Joyce fully registers the ten months of his absence.⁵⁸¹ However, “Oscar could not stand this challenge, and being so powerful broke his harness, making a bee line for them he scattered them as if the devil was after them...”⁵⁸² Resettling to the base was difficult for the four dogs who had made the Mt Hope journey. They fought among themselves despite their camaraderie on the trail⁵⁸³ and eventually Conrad was badly wounded. Joyce took him into the hut but “[i]n spite of all my care the poor fellow died a few hours later. Another pal gone. We buried him on the hill.”⁵⁸⁴ Kelly Tyler-Lewis points out, however, that Joyce reserved his

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 154.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 217.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 191.

⁵⁸² Ibid.

⁵⁸³ Ibid., 194.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid., 192-93.

sentiment for Oscar, Gunner, Towser and Conrad, using the skins of other dogs and puppies who died at Hut Point to make mittens.⁵⁸⁵

Joyce 'retired' the three remaining depot-laying dogs the following month, replacing them with the now-grown puppies on the relatively brief journeys that occupied the remainder of the expedition.⁵⁸⁶ One of these journeys was Joyce's own removal to Cape Royds where he worked from early October, alone for much of the time, collecting and preparing specimens for the zoological collection. Apparently Joyce, like the dogs, found it difficult to settle back into collegial base life, a restlessness which would certainly follow him into his later years. He did eventually return to Cape Evans in December, apparently finally weary of his own company.⁵⁸⁷ The three Mt Hope dogs were taken back to New Zealand at the end of the expedition, Oscar and Towser apparently living until the 1930s on display at Wellington Zoo, and Gunner becoming Joyce's companion, and later a floor rug in his home.⁵⁸⁸

In general, Joyce's characterisation of the dogs is masculine, embodying notions such as physical strength, dedication to duty and aggression. However, this is tempered by references to their innocence and their childlike qualities,⁵⁸⁹ calling to mind the more nurturing Joyce. Indeed, within what remains a strongly and literally masculine

⁵⁸⁵ Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 236.

⁵⁸⁶ Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 194.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., 196-200. His tally for approximately 90 days work s listed as 114 animals, including penguins and other birds, seals and sea leopards. Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 200.

⁵⁸⁸ There is some confusion on this point. It is possible that all three dogs went to Wellington Zoo, and certainly Joyce wrote to the zoo enquiring after their health on the anniversary of the trek, see Town Clerk, "Memo for Councillor Castle," (Wellington City Archives: 1918). It does, however, appear that Joyce at least owned Gunner's skin, and that this was passed down through his wife's family (see McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, 266., also Bruce Curlett, Telephone interview, 7 May 2009.), the most likely reason being that Joyce kept the dog as a pet in its later life. Wellington Zoo also kept Osman, one of Scott's dogs from the *Terra Nova* expedition, and it is possible that this may have caused the confusion about three Antarctic dogs having been housed there. See Anonymous, "Flyer Advertising Antarctic Dogs at Wellington Zoo," (Wellington City Archives: Undated, ca 1920).

activity, Joyce's performance on the ice includes a number of roles that are traditionally female. He sews prodigiously,⁵⁹⁰ using scavenged materials to produce trousers, boots and mittens for expedition members stranded with only the clothes they stood in. He stitches several hundred canvas bags which will carry the all-important sledging rations for the depot-laying journeys, and later become patches for worn shoes, clothing and tents.⁵⁹¹ And, stuck in the tent during a blizzard towards the end of the expedition, Joyce "... amused [him]self mending finneskoes, Burberrys, mits, patched socks with spare food bags, had the Primus going whilst this operation was in force",⁵⁹² in an Antarctic articulation of a mother figure stitching before the hearth.

Joyce provides and prepares food,⁵⁹³ and attempts mental and emotional nourishment through cheering and joking,⁵⁹⁴ in his own, perhaps not always welcome, way. On the return from Mt Hope, for example, as Victor Hayward teeters at the brink of death from scurvy and starvation, Joyce offers him an excerpt from Robert Service,

‘You’re sick of the game?’ Well, now, that’s a shame.
 You’re young and you’re brave and you’re bright.
 ‘You’ve had a raw deal!’ I know – but don’t squeal.
 Buck up, do your darndest, and fight.
 It’s the plugging away that will win you the day,
 So don’t be a piker, old pard!
 Just draw on your grit; it’s so easy to quit:
 It’s the keeping-your-chin-up that’s hard.⁵⁹⁵

Although these might not be the words everyone would want to hear in such a situation, Joyce believes they roused Hayward sufficiently for him to continue on the journey.

⁵⁸⁹ See, for example, Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 154.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 81-86.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, 165.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, 172, 94.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 151, 72.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 155.

Joyce teaches, passing on his experience in the techniques of sledging and Antarctic survival, although always ensuring that his students are well aware of his own achievements.⁵⁹⁶ He nurses, massaging the scurvy afflicted limbs of his colleagues⁵⁹⁷ and making crutches for the two worst-affected on their return to Cape Evans.⁵⁹⁸ He seeks decision making by consensus rather than decree,⁵⁹⁹ taking the weight of leadership hard and losing sleep as he worries.⁶⁰⁰ While Joyce was certainly not alone in performing these activities,⁶⁰¹ and while there may be many explanations for them, not the least of which being his Naval background, they do suggest that there are more ways to think about Joyce's Antarctic experience than one which is shaped by an enduring power struggle and an individualist bitterness.

As Elena Glasberg found a site for the production of modernist sensibilities around a Ponting photograph, there is also an attitude in *The South Polar Trail*, and the Ross Sea Party story in general, which speaks of a similarly modernist potential. This is the machine identification of the human body, core to the performance of man and dog-hauled sledging which, for many, defines the heroic era of Antarctic exploration. In Leonard Bickel's words, during the first sledging season,

Ernest Joyce supervised the bagging of provisions. ... Food was critical as fuel, he declared, as they worked on allotting the supplies in amounts that were precise because excess would mean pulling unnecessary weight, and too little would mean starvation in the cold.⁶⁰²

Joyce's sledging companion, Dick Richards recalled,

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid., 55-56, 156.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid., 145.

⁵⁹⁸ Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 195.

⁵⁹⁹ Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 114, 49, 51.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., 23-24, 61.

⁶⁰¹ Richards, for example, also recalls being moved to tears upon his reunion with Wild, who had been left to nurse Mackintosh and Hayward during the closing stages of the Mt Hope journey, R. W. Richards and Scott Polar Research Institute., *The Ross Sea Shore Party, 1914-17* (Cambridge: Scott Polar Research Institute, 1962), 31.

⁶⁰² Lennard Bickel, *Shackleton's Forgotten Argonauts* (South Melbourne: Macmillan, 1982), 47.

Weight is the predominant consideration in man-hauled sledge journeys, so the diet is restricted in bulk as much as possible and designed to give just sufficient energy and heating values for efficient work.

We found the rations when sledging quite adequate for the performance of hard physical work. However, we were always hungry and the body lost condition even when we were in good health ... After five or six months, the condition of parties using these rations may become desperate and death may take place⁶⁰³

This is because scurvy resulted since no fresh food could be carried owing to the increase in weight.⁶⁰⁴ It was after such a period on the ice, attenuated by times when even sledging rations were unavailable, that the Mt Hope survivors returned to Hut Point in March 1916, and to the tonic of fresh food in the form of seal meat. However, Joyce approached the meat with caution fearing "... our machine will hardly be equal to the strain at first."⁶⁰⁵

In the recalled and reconstructed perception of man hauling, the human body is an engine whose operation must be fuelled carefully and precisely. While this pared-down biological strategy makes man-hauling possible, it also contains the seeds of its own failure since it cannot be sustained for an extended period of time. It is the beginning of what Burke might call a scientised construction of the human being, and one which Joyce instinctively, or transitionally, seeks to supplement with his spiritual and emotional nourishment. It introduces science as the alternative meta-narrative to superstition and religion, but this is an imperfect paradigm against which human will must also be played. At the end of the day, however, it is not the masculine strength of the dogs, the feminine support of provisioning, or the scientised human machine that brings Joyce and his party safely back to the base. Rather, Joyce retreats to fatalism, to "Provi", some greater power which has orchestrated his survival and that of his colleagues.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰³ Richards and Scott Polar Research Institute., *The Ross Sea Shore Party, 1914-17*, 19.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁵ Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 176.

6.2.2 *Photograph making*

Arnold Spencer-Smith, who died from scurvy on the return from Mt Hope, was the official photographer for the Ross Sea Party, but the Joyce collection does not appear to contain any of his photographs. Even in the straitened circumstances of the earlier part of the expedition, Spencer-Smith continued to do his work, using Ponting's dark room at Cape Evans.⁶⁰⁷ Other expedition members also took photographs throughout the period but this was more frequently done than written about. In November 1915 Joyce records photographing an unusual ice formation⁶⁰⁸ and in December 1916 Joyce, Wild and Gaze visited Spencer-Smith's grave to install a cross, and Wild notes that Gaze and Joyce took photographs.⁶⁰⁹ On their return, the group spent time at Hut Point, collecting rocks and taking more photographs.⁶¹⁰ Within the intense and austere existence of the Ross Sea Party, photography persisted, possibly as a means of normalising this wayward situation in an almost absurd parody of the anticipated behaviours of a 'normal' expeditioning party. It is known that Joyce was behind and in front of the camera. It is not known whether he also worked in the darkroom, but given its availability, the small number of personnel, and the considerable 'down time' involved, this is certainly possible.

6.2.3 *The end of the beginning: the return of the Aurora*

The *Aurora* returned on 9 January 1917, almost as suddenly as it had disappeared 20 months earlier. *The South Polar Trail* is relatively quiet on this momentous event, Joyce stating simply, "I will not attempt to describe my feelings."⁶¹¹ However, in 1921 the ship's captain, John King Davis, recalled in *Life* magazine,

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid., 192.

⁶⁰⁷ Bickel, *Shackleton's Forgotten Argonauts*, 81.

⁶⁰⁸ Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 137, 38.

⁶⁰⁹ Wild diary, 23 December 1916, quoted in McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, 238.

⁶¹⁰ Unreferenced description, Ibid., 239.

⁶¹¹ Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 203.

... the men were so excited and hysterical over the rescue they could not talk coherently, ... Anything more remote from normal civilised human beings would be hard to imagine. With their haggard, lined faces from which smoke-bleared eyes looked out above their unkempt beards, their jerky, hysterical speech – they were strange objects. And, to put it baldly, they reeked to heavens – but not, considerate Mother be praised – to each other.⁶¹²

However, with food and bath on the ship they “gradually became normal”.⁶¹³ The survivors were filmed and photographed as they came on board,⁶¹⁴ recalling Ponting’s desire to capture returning sledging parties before the ‘interest’ value of the markings of their extreme experience faded. The Ross Sea Party had become clearly and thoroughly Antarctic, or perhaps more correctly outsiders to society, and this was recognised in their physical appearance as well as their behaviour. The abstracting and formalising values of photography were a means of social reincorporation, a register of the men’s iciness which also began the process of the thaw.

Joyce took part in several sorties from the ship over the next few days, searching for the remains of Hayward and Mackintosh, who had lost their lives in an attempt to reach the Cape Evans base over the sea ice in May 1916, and picking up the zoological and geological specimens accumulated during the closing months of the expedition. The final search party left the ship on the morning of 13 January. Shackleton, Wild, Joyce and a team of five dogs took with them roast mutton, ham, bread and other luxuries. They found no sign of the missing men, but this occasion would prove portentous as “... the last sledging foray of the heroic age of Antarctic exploration.”⁶¹⁵ As Joyce was there on that first journey from the *Discovery*, so he was present at this final, equally brief and absurdly festive outing, in retrospect perhaps more than anything a wake, both for their lost colleagues and for their particular form of heroism in exploration. On the morning of 16 January, Joyce, Wild, Jack and Shackleton shared a final meal at Cape Evans, closed the building, and

⁶¹² Quoted in McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, 248.

⁶¹³ Quoted in Ibid.

⁶¹⁴ A H Ninnis diary quoted in Ibid.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid., 253.

left for the ship.⁶¹⁶ This would be the last time any of them would be physically present in the Antarctic bases. It does not appear to have been photographed.

The laying of the Mt Hope depot allowed Joyce to claim that he had made the longest-ever sledging journey, and this would be the cornerstone of his construction of achievement for the remainder of his life. Shackleton, meanwhile stated in his account of the Weddell and Ross Sea undertakings, "I think that no more remarkable story of human endeavour has been revealed than that tale of that long march..."⁶¹⁷ At the end of *The South Polar Trail* Joyce reproduces an apparent letter of appreciation from Shackleton, which praises Joyce's hard work, care and optimism, and ends with the offer, "... if ever I can assist you, please call upon me, and if it is in my power it will be done",⁶¹⁸ an offer that Shackleton may have lived to regret.

6.3 *Re-civilisation: Joyce in the aftermath of Antarctic exploration*

Just as the dogs had struggled with the return to base life after the Mt Hope journey, Joyce would find his return to 'normal' life challenging and factional. The Ross Sea Party survivors arrived in Wellington on 9 February 1917, and Shackleton started almost straight away into a series of public lectures, in Wellington⁶¹⁹ and in Christchurch, where he was joined by Joyce.⁶²⁰ By March, the lecture tour had moved on to Melbourne, although without photographs.⁶²¹

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 255.

⁶¹⁷ Shackleton, *South: The Story of Shackleton's 1914-1917 Expedition*, 149.

⁶¹⁸ Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 215-16.

⁶¹⁹ McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, 257.

⁶²⁰ Anonymous, "(Untitled) Sir Ernest Arrived in Christchurch..." *Lyttelton Times*, 26 Feb 1917, Ernest Shackleton, "Telegram to Mayor of Christchurch," *Lyttelton Times*, 21 Feb 1917.; Anonymous, "(Untitled) Sir Ernest Arrived in Christchurch..." 9.

⁶²¹ McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, 258-59.

Now aged 41, Joyce married in New Zealand that year. His bride was Beatrice Curlett, from Christchurch. Several photographs in the H H Clifford collection at Canterbury Museum,⁶²² taken around 1909, show Beatrice with a Samoyed dog, suggesting that she first met Joyce on his return with the *Nimrod*. The quality, and associated expense, of these studio portraits speak both of Beatrice's position in society and the significance of the gift to her. One of the photographs is reproduced in *The South Polar Trail*,⁶²³ highlighting the importance of this dog (and the availability of the photograph) to Joyce in a narrative to which it does not strictly relate. None of these photographs are in the Joyce collection today.

The photographic link to Beatrice is confirmed by a newspaper clipping in the Joyce papers at the Alexander Turnbull Library. This prize-winning story, in the *Evening Standard*'s 'Real Life Love Stories' competition, relates how Beatrice had been among the 20,000 people who welcomed the *Nimrod* upon its return to Lyttelton in March 1909. She was part of the reception committee and on the ship was presented with one of the dogs, Erebus, by an expedition member. She kept up correspondence with this man for several years but things went quiet. In 1917, following the return of the Ross Sea Party, the story relates that Shackleton and this, still unnamed, man were standing in the porch of their hotel in Christchurch when Erebus came walking by. The man, who was, of course, Joyce, gave the Antarctic food call and Erebus bounded up, apparently immediately recognised by the explorers. Beatrice, meanwhile, was concerned at the disappearance of her dog and when the hotel called her several days later, she was taken aback to find him in the company of Shackleton and her former correspondent. She managed to convince Erebus to return to her, and also rekindled her friendship with Joyce, leading to their marriage and, at the time of writing, twelve

⁶²² H H Clifford Collection, Canterbury Museum references 1980.175.21122, 1980.175.21123, 1980.175.21124, 1980.175.21125

⁶²³ Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 182.

years of travelling the world with him.⁶²⁴ Once again, the interplay of chance, destiny and individual choice enters into the construction of these lives.

Beatrice would stick by Joyce through the turbulence of his later life, and would continue to amass Antarctic-related newspaper clippings after his death and to advocate on her husband's behalf.⁶²⁵ Known affectionately to her family as 'Aunt Joycey',⁶²⁶ it was Bee who brought Joyce's photographs, papers, medals and other Antarctic memorabilia to New Zealand after his death in London, caring for them in her home until the items were dispersed to family members and to public and private collectors after her death. Bee's great nephew, Bruce Curlett, recalls visiting her as a teenager and being shown these treasures, Aunt Joycey determined that her husband's story be kept alive. He recalls the skin of Gunner serving as a floor rug in family homes until it wore out some time in the 1970s, and also a family story that Bee took great interest in Joyce's appearance, choosing his clothes and polishing his shoes every evening. His impression is that Joyce and Beatrice had a very close marriage and that when she returned to New Zealand as a widow, she had lost much of her own interest in life. The couple had no children but their English nephew, Dr J R F Joyce, a geologist, also worked in Antarctica, around 1950.⁶²⁷

Joyce clearly inspired pride and admiration among his close family,⁶²⁸ but this apparent satisfaction was not reflected in his later career or public life. He returned to Australia with his wife in 1917 where he volunteered for Naval service but was rejected because of poor eyesight, a problem he put down to frequent bouts of

⁶²⁴ Anonymous, "Shackleton's Sledge Dog Brought an Antarctic Explorer a Bride," *Evening Standard* Undated ca 1929, Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, folder 18.

⁶²⁵ See "Newspaper Clippings," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library: ca 1958), folder 20. and Beatrice Joyce, "Letter to Robert Falla," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: ca 1958), Folder 5.

⁶²⁶ Bruce Curlett, "Letter to Kerry McCarthy," (2009).

⁶²⁷ Curlett.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

snowblindness.⁶²⁹ Once again he approached Shackleton for compensation but, according to Jones, Shackleton commented “I think this is a play-up. I am not responsible for his eyes...” and was not impressed at having to pay for the telegram Joyce sent informing him of the problem.⁶³⁰ Tyler-Lewis also notes that Joyce, like all the men, had signed on at his own risk.⁶³¹ Once again, the aggrieved Joyce rises to the surface, the man attempting to take control of his future, but without the desired outcome.

Following a stint as a mine manager in Queensland and as a travelling salesman, the latter cut short by a car accident,⁶³² Joyce and Beatrice moved to London in 1920 as part of the plans by Ross Sea Party physician, John Cope, for a British Imperial Antarctic Expedition. Cope envisaged making Joyce second in command. However, this came to nothing, and in the late 1920s Joyce began to plan his own Antarctic venture, departing from South Africa. This also failed to gain the required support.⁶³³ Following the collapse of the Cope expedition, Joyce approached Shackleton’s lawyer for permission to undertake a lecture tour using photographs and film from of the Weddell and Ross Sea parties. This contravened Joyce’s contract of appointment, but Shackleton granted permission, although the use of the moving image film was revoked in 1922 by its new owner, Sir William Jury, following a sale which Joyce deemed a double cross by Shackleton.⁶³⁴

Jones notes that Joyce volunteered, during the 1920s, for an attempt on Mt Everest, and in 1934 planned an air expedition to the North Pole. He also records Joyce describing himself as managing director of British World Trade Exhibitions, and selling furs at the Ideal Homes Exhibition. It is interesting to note the strong public roles involved in these projects and that Jones puts their failure down to economic

⁶²⁹ Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 253.

⁶³⁰ Cited in Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 433.

⁶³¹ Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 253-54.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, 255.

⁶³³ Various, "Ernest Edward Mills Joyce Papers," folder 11.

⁶³⁴ Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 257.

conditions rather than any inability on Joyce's part to 'sell' the ideas.⁶³⁵ In these turbulent circumstances, Joyce also needed a day job, and during the 1930s he worked as a liftman porter at the Eccleston Hotel in London.⁶³⁶

6.3.1 *Captain Mills Joyce the famous explorer: the making of self*

It was also during this period that Joyce accumulated the papers now held by the Alexander Turnbull Library. They consist of the manuscript versions of *The South Polar Trail*, along with numerous articles, fragments and reworkings of text, and many hundreds of newspaper clippings about Antarctic exploration and related topics. Much of Joyce's original writing is by hand, in green, black or blue ink, sometimes in pencil, with editorial markings and marginal annotations. It is often on scraps of paper, including notepaper or postcards from the Eccleston Hotel,⁶³⁷ which convey a sporadic intensity, work begun with great enthusiasm that trails off or is interrupted before completion, and restarted at some later point with similar energy and short-lived urgency. The overriding impression is of an array of working documents, souvenirs and items of interest that happen to have survived and to have taken on a role probably not envisaged by their compilers. This is the contents of a desk drawer or a shoe box or two transformed into an archive by a progression of ownership that is propelled by the ideology of association.

Throughout, the papers represent Joyce's work (and that of his wife) in the interest of establishing his Antarctic persona, his efforts as his own public relations agent, and his attempt to take charge of his own destiny. Thus the articles he pens stride along under titles such as, 'Cheating Death in the Antarctic',⁶³⁸ 'Vast Antarctica: the fortress

⁶³⁵ Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 434.

⁶³⁶ Ibid.: 435.

⁶³⁷ See, for example Various, "Ernest Edward Mills Joyce Papers," folder 6.

⁶³⁸ Ernest E Mills Joyce, "Cheating Death in the Antarctic," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: Undated), Folder 7.

of the ice king',⁶³⁹ and 'An epic of the ice by Capt E Mills Joyce AM',⁶⁴⁰ the office of Captain apparently seamlessly adopted by Joyce without the promotion ever being recorded.⁶⁴¹ Much of Joyce's writing about himself is in the third person, including letters recommending him for new years and other honours, presumably drafted in advance for the convenience of potential referees.⁶⁴²

As well as growing increasingly comfortable with his assumed office, these articles suggest that Joyce "... had the privilege of personal contact with most of the great explorers of modern times ...",⁶⁴³ and that he was the leader and sole decision maker on the Ross Sea Party after Mackintosh succumbed to scurvy, charting "... a Polar journey unsurpassed in the annals of exploration."⁶⁴⁴ Indeed, Joyce goes so far as to suggest,

The heroism of the great polar explorers from the time of Franklin to that of the ill-fated Scott and his comrades endures as our immortal heritage for the whole human race, for we have reached a point in human progress and civilization where scientific heroism is on a greater plane than military heroism or any form of physical valour. No war with all its horrors and its heroism surpasses the story of Joyce and his comrades on the White Trail.⁶⁴⁵

In his mind, Joyce has placed himself at the apex of an intellectual, or at least taxonomic, heroism that speaks of human advance while also superseding the trials of the recent global war, even as it, apparently, excluded him from it.

⁶³⁹ Ernest E Mills Joyce, "Vast Antarctica: The Fortress of the Ice King," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: Undated), Folder 7a.

⁶⁴⁰ Ernest E Mills Joyce, "An Epic of the Ice by Capt E Mills Joyce Am," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: Undated), Folder 6. The manuscript of this article carries and editorial credit to Grahame Richards, and a return address of The Authors Club, 2 Whitehall Court, suggesting that Joyce was also moving in literary social circles at this time.

⁶⁴¹ Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 433-34.

⁶⁴² For example, Joyce, "Letter of Recommendation for Ernest Mills Joyce," Folder 5.

⁶⁴³ Joyce, "Cheating Death in the Antarctic," folder 7.

⁶⁴⁴ Joyce, "Joyce," folder 7a.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

In addition to a manuscript with a rejection slip attached,⁶⁴⁶ there are multiple souvenired copies of several published articles by or about Joyce from pictorial papers.⁶⁴⁷ They use photographs often still present in the Joyce collection and continue to emphasise the four key dogs.⁶⁴⁸ 'Heroes in tatters they win through!',⁶⁴⁹ for example, uses three photographs from the collection, including one captioned as Joyce starting out on the Mt Hope journey, which the Royal Geographical Society states is a photograph taken by Frank Hurley, and therefore necessarily from the Weddell Sea party.⁶⁵⁰ Error, desire and misrepresentation mingle in the use of this photograph. Joyce even dips his toes into fiction, apparently penning "gripping yarns" for boys under the pseudonym Draycot Dell, An Old Shellback, whose protagonist, Hardfist Jemsen, "... found it to be a world where few people keep their promises."⁶⁵¹

Fragments in the collection chart Joyce's attempts at inclusion in a burgeoning polar heritage. For example, a hand-written draft of the catalogue for the British Polar Exhibition, held at the Central Hall, Westminster in July 1930, and a general letter to Antarctic Club members requesting relics for the exhibition⁶⁵² attest to his involvement with this event, although he is not listed as a member of the organising

⁶⁴⁶ Ernest E Mills Joyce, "In the Ross Sea Lived a Whale," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: Undated), folder 6.

⁶⁴⁷ For a discussion of the role of the print media in the construction of polar exploration, see Riffenburgh, *The Myth of the Explorer : The Press, Sensationalism, and Geographical Discovery*.

⁶⁴⁸ See, Ernest E Mills Joyce, "In the Far South," *Sunday Referee*, 8 December 1929, folder 18., Joyce, "The Great Adventure Wonders of Antarctica Explorer in Newcastle," folder 19., Ernest E Mills Joyce, "Shackleton's Smile When Facing Death," *World's Pictorial News*, 4 February 1922.

⁶⁴⁹ Ernest E Mills Joyce, "Heroes in Tatters They Win Through! Captain Joyce Tells for the First Time the Story of Antarctic Struggle," *The People*, 28 September 1930, folder 18.

⁶⁵⁰ Ernest Joyce collection Canterbury Museum reference 1981.110.174, Royal Geographical Society collection: <http://images.rgs.org/search.aspx?EventCategoryID=1>

⁶⁵¹ Draycot (Ernest E Mills Joyce) Dell, "The Passing of Hardfist Jemsen," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: Undated), folder 2. For further discussion of Joyce's writing, see Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 260-62.

⁶⁵² Various, "Ernest Edward Mills Joyce Papers," folder 8.

committee.⁶⁵³ An undated clipping relating to the opening of the Scott Polar Research Institute, presumably its Lensfield Road premises in 1934, does not mention Joyce, but, tellingly, several lines are marked in ink,

... two names – Shackleton and Scott stood out supreme, but let them never forget the many others whose names had not lived after them, but whose courage and endurance were as great.⁶⁵⁴

The Scott Polar Research Institute holds papers from many of the key players of the heroic era, but not from Joyce.⁶⁵⁵ He, perhaps, did not see his work as suited to this elite organisation or perhaps he was told that this was the case.⁶⁵⁶ The lack of any correspondence on this topic in his surviving papers, and the paucity on others despite Joyce's apparently frequent letter writing, speaks again of an individual intensely and tenaciously going through the work of living, rather than stepping back to create a conscious archive to carry his name into the future.

The Joyce papers also suggest that he was following, attending, and probably learning from, lectures presented by other Antarctic travellers. For example, Joyce saw Shackleton at the Philharmonic Hall in London, shortly after his return in 1920. In a typescript report on the event, presumably written by Joyce, it is stated that he was

⁶⁵³ Anonymous, "The British Polar Exhibition," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library: ca 1930), folder 13.

⁶⁵⁴ Anonymous, "Newspaper Clipping," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library: ca 1934), folder 13.

⁶⁵⁵ Except for the material relating to the publication of *The South Polar Trail* in the Mill papers discussed above. Various, in *Hugh Robert Mill Bequest*, GB 15.

⁶⁵⁶ A set of his medals is held there (Y74/1/1-3) but donated posthumously by an unrelated subsequent owner. Another set is also held at Canterbury Museum (1982.116.1-3 and 1982.116.5-6) and there is some confusion about which are the originals and which the duplicates, a second set having been produced in the early 1920s when the originals were apparently lost. (Rear Admiral J A L Myres, Letter, 29 November 1996.). Kelly Tyler-Lewis notes that Joyce gave a duplicate of his Polar Medal to his mother, with the bar apparently filed down to disguise his rank of Rating. Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 335. This appears to be the medal held by Canterbury Museum. There have also been numerous realignments of bars and other components of the other medals, providing another example of the revisionist Joyce, and yet another unresolved narrative concerning his Antarctic activities. (Myres.)

recognised by Shackleton in the audience, brought onto the stage and introduced as the saviour of the Ross Sea Party, for which he received by a standing ovation.⁶⁵⁷

It was shortly after this that Joyce began his own lectures and there are also occasional references to these. An undated flyer from the Pavillion and Winter Garden at Bournemouth, for example, proclaims, "Captain Ernest Joyce who holds the record for Antarctic Exploration and who accompanied Sir Ernest Shackleton and Captain Scott will lecture on his thrilling adventures at 5 and 8 o'clock with lantern and cinema pictures."⁶⁵⁸ While a 1936 clipping from *The Evening Telegram*, produced in St John's, Newfoundland, states that "...Capt. Joyce, commander of the SS Aurora which ship played so important a part in the Expedition, will lecture on the many incidents in connection with the trip."⁶⁵⁹ The lecture was repeated due to its popularity and "... the vividness of his description and the remarkably fine pictures thrown on the screen held the close attention of his audience from start to finish", although the journalist curiously refers to the topic of the talk as Shackleton's trip to the South Pole. Joyce and his wife were feted at a dinner after the first lecture, he presented with an engraved cigarette case, and she with flowers.⁶⁶⁰ A distance in time and place and, perhaps an enduring journalistic desire never to let the truth get in the way of a good story, may have contributed to some of the flourishes in the promotion of this event.

The Joyce papers contain some lists of slide titles and notes⁶⁶¹ but no formal lecture scripts. There is also a "List of sample carbons for Capt Joyce" apparently made by

⁶⁵⁷ Ernest E Mills Joyce, "From the London Press: To His Old Comrade a Warm Reception," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library: 1920), Folder 12.

⁶⁵⁸ Anonymous, "Flyer, Captain Ernest Joyce Who Holds...." (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: ca 1921), Folder 12.

⁶⁵⁹ Anonymous, "In the Grip of the Polar Ice," *Evening Telegram*, 11 August 1936, folder 19.

⁶⁶⁰ Anonymous, "Capt Mills Joyce at the Star Theatre Illustrated Address on Polar Exploration Repeated," *Evening Telegram*, August 1936, folder 17. Joyce's nephew, Bruce Curlett, recalls such a cigarette case among Beatrice's memorabilia in New Zealand. Curlett.

⁶⁶¹ Various, "Ernest Edward Mills Joyce Papers," folder 5.

Ponting. The photographs were to be supplied in a canvas and ply carrying case, suggesting Joyce may have used them to include the *Terra Nova* expedition in his lectures.⁶⁶² Overall, however, the scant references that survive among the papers give rise to the sense that Joyce might not actually have lectured, or published, all that often.

There are very few photographs among the papers - three prints in total, and only one is complete. This probably dates from the 1930s and is a composite print showing Joyce's *Aurora Australis*, Albert Medal, Polar Medal, a page from his log, his sledging compass, and his sledging flag. Joyce has identified the items on the reverse in pencil. The photograph is probably associated with one of the Antarctic exhibitions of the period, and the sledging flag depiction is of particular interest as the flag appears no longer to exist. Its motto, *Nise Dominus Frustra*, is presented in a circular form around two crossed anchors,⁶⁶³ clearly asserting a Naval connection. The words translate roughly to 'without the Lord all is in vain', harkening back to the providential Joyce of early years, now fragmented in these various attempts at self glorification.

Joyce came accidentally upon Antarctica and upon a brief burst of fame. His papers in the Alexander Turnbull Library relate a catching up, an intense, sporadic and not necessarily skilful attempt at becoming what he might have been if he had set out to find this, or if he had been born someone else. This is a man trying once again with

⁶⁶² Herbert (presumed) Ponting, "List of Sample Carbons for Capt Joyce," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: Undated), folder 5. Interestingly, both Joyce and Ponting appear to have lived at the same Oxford Mansions address in London. It is not known how close they were within these apparently quite small buildings, or whether they were resident at the same time, but this intersection raises another network of post-exploration mobilities which may further inform and reinforce the performance of 'the explorer' for the men and families involved. Ponting's address is recorded on a transparency box in, Christie's, *Expedition & Travel Including the Polar Sale*, 22 September 2010 (London: Christie's, 2010), 172, lot 72., while Joyce has inscribed it onto the manuscript of Joyce, "In the Ross Sea Lived a Whale."

⁶⁶³ Unknown Photographer, "Photograph," in Ernest Edward Mills Joyce papers (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington: Undated, ca 1930s), folder 12.

only the resources of his body and mind to achieve the impossible. Joyce's post-Antarctic construction of self is quite simply a wish fulfilment, one that bears elements of truth but also glaring patches of falsity. It may be disturbing and off-putting for this reason, but it is also tenacious and perhaps even charming. Joyce was not consciously building an 'archive' to live beyond him, but was working in the moment for a tangible recognition in his own time, whose form would carry heroic immortality as an anterior value. The challenge we face in interacting with Joyce today lies primarily in coming to terms with this projection of desire over dutiful authenticity, and finding a way to make this both acceptable and productive as a foundation for thinking. The functioning of photographs as anchoring points in networks of identification suggests that they might be an entirely appropriate site to begin this thinking.

Like Joyce's story, his papers are restless and unresolved, and yet another entrenched tale surrounds the end of his life by which he is supposed to have died (from heart failure, emphysema and bronchitis) in his basement room at the Eccleston on 2 May 1940, apparently having gone to sleep, as usual, in his old reindeer-skin sleeping bag.⁶⁶⁴ His death certificate gives his occupation as 'Antarctic explorer',⁶⁶⁵ information presumably supplied by Beatrice. Family recollections, however, suggest that Joyce passed away at the home he shared with his wife at 52 Gillingham Street, Westminster, only a minute's walk from the hotel.⁶⁶⁶

6.4 Summary

For all the uncertainties and myths that surround the minutiae of the life of Ernest Joyce, there have also been a number of attempts to summarise his character, to

⁶⁶⁴ Riffenburgh, *Shackleton's Forgotten Expedition: The Voyage of the Nimrod*, 303. Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 263.

⁶⁶⁵ Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 435.

⁶⁶⁶ Curlett, "Letter to Kerry McCarthy.", address confirmed in David Harrowfield, "Letter to Kerry McCarthy," (2007).

capture some kind of essence of who he was and why he acted as he did in relation to his Antarctic experiences. Dick Richards, for example, stated,

... frankly I was astonished to read his S[outh] Polar Trail & to realize how much his account differed from the reality. ... Nevertheless it does not affect my feeling for Ernie in the slightest – Indeed it is what I would have expected from him. He was bombastic – a bit of a swashbuckler & saw everything – quite genuinely I think – more colorful and larger than life – but true-hearted and a staunch friend. We just accepted each other for what we were ‘warts and all’.⁶⁶⁷

And, “I knew his good qualities and his weaknesses ... I think he really believed things that at times were just not true...”⁶⁶⁸

Jones concludes his biography of Joyce with a quote from Alexander Stevens, chief scientist with the Ross Sea Party, “There were two Ernest Joyces – one of them was very good stuff, in spite of his beginnings.”⁶⁶⁹ And elsewhere Stevens has commented similarly, “[Joyce] is a good fellow in his own sphere, and it is not fair to expect more of him than his fortune in life warrants.”⁶⁷⁰ Among his contemporaries, then, Joyce was a loyal friend and a lovable, if sometimes taxing, rogue, but, particularly for Stevens, there remains a strong sense of social and intellectual predetermination which made it impossible and even unkind to conceive of Joyce as anything other than an exemplar of the life he was born into.

More recently, Beau Riffenburgh has suggested,

Wild and Joyce would spend much of their lives rootless and wandering. Both had found stability – but not happiness – in the Royal Navy, and now both were drawn back to Antarctica by a curious combination of affection

⁶⁶⁷ R. W. Richards, "Letter to Leslie Quartermain, 20 December 1963," in *Quartermain collection* (Canterbury Museum), MS 303, item 53.

⁶⁶⁸ Richard Richards letter to Richard McElrea, 13 September 1981, quoted in McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, 262.

⁶⁶⁹ Jones, "Shackleton's Ross Sea Party 1914-17," 435.

⁶⁷⁰ Letter Alexander Stevens to R H Mill, 12 December 1928, Scott Polar Research, Cambridge, England quoted in McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, 263.

and antipathy. They were never attracted by its natural splendors, and they did not record any particular excitement about being there, but they seemingly could not be actively happy elsewhere for long. They were both like addicts; once they had committed themselves to the hazards, difficulties and challenges of life in the far south, they felt impelled to return again and again.⁶⁷¹

The romance of today's outdoors adventuring 'adrenalin junkie' enters into this configuration of Joyce, which makes Antarctica a setting against which he could convince himself that he was something other than a product of social expectation in a way that he could never do back 'in society'.

Kelly Tyler-Lewis, meanwhile, has conceded that, for all his faults,

By any measure, Joyce had achieved remarkable success in life: travelling to the ends of the earth, receiving honours from the king, publishing his memoirs, and collecting a scrapbook bulging with news clippings of his exploits. For a boy from the Royal School for Navy Orphans, it was astonishing. The Antarctic had seemed at once an escape from the stifling hierarchy into the wilds and, back at home, a means of springing up the ladder in society. Scott and Shackleton had held the same expectations. Following their example, Joyce believed the hidebound rules no longer applied in the Antarctic ... But what Joyce craved – acceptance in the rarefied circles inhabited by Shackleton – would never come, bound as he was by his roots in the Victorian age.⁶⁷²

For both Riffenburgh and Tyler-Lewis, Joyce's story remains essentially one of failed social mobility. He is emblematic of his time and of the construction of Antarctica which brought his reputation. However, like Scott and his companions in their final tent, he is also human, and his is a story of rising individualism and strident desire, and it may prove more productive to engage with the elements of this imagining as an ongoing performance of self, uncertain, uncharted and unresolved, but projected in constellations of pictures and words that speak their own stories and engender their own responses beyond entrenched narratives of class and society.

⁶⁷¹ Riffenburgh, *Shackleton's Forgotten Expedition: The Voyage of the Nimrod*, 126.

⁶⁷² Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 262.

7 Living the ice (im)age: a pentadic thinking of the Joyce collection

And so, with a methodology, a context, and a good deal of thinking already done, it is time to think with the Joyce collection. This exercise places a group of photographs at the centre of considering Ernest Joyce and his Antarctica. It is a generative activity which is also about my reactions to these objects, and the values and ideas that they evoke for me today. The discussion is not about establishing what the photographs depict to any level of detail. While some identifications and clarifications emerge in the course of the thinking, anonymity populates all of the photographs for me. Places, people, photographers, dates are all to a greater or lesser extent unknown.

However, these gaps in conscious knowledge are also portals for speculation, emphasising the negotiated nature of photographic meaning. Barthes' disillusionment with the "blah-blah" of photographic description,⁶⁷³ and Burke's concern at the unquestioning application of statistical analysis to human endeavour, clearly suggest that the detritus of detail about the creation and content of a photograph is not necessarily what produces the most useful insights into its operation. Indeed, writers such as Batchen, Edwards and Olin suggest it is the networks of identification within which photographs circulate that are the most fertile ground for insight, and here Burke's dramatism clearly has much to offer. In this outward view, the axes of the photographic collective and the photograph as object become particularly important sites of transition and will be stressed alongside a consideration of elements of the pictures they involve.

One thing that can be said with certainty about these photographs is that they were accumulated by Ernest Joyce. Although his overt intentions may be obscured, Joyce's hand in some way, by selection, creation or manufacture, is behind each of these objects, and it is his Antarctic imagining that may be encountered here. My aim

is to acknowledge the unknown, and even erroneous, as part of the encounter with photographs and to enter into a conversation with them that crosses from picture to word and back again, from physicality to intellect and back again, from detail to generalisation and back again, and from truth to fiction and many points between.

Starting with the 223 photographs in the Joyce collection, and my background knowledge outlined in the previous chapters, I made an initial selection of 42 photographs for closer consideration. This choosing was informed by Barthes' *punctum* - these are the photographs that appealed to me instantly from the group, with no conscious concern for representativeness. In line with the structure outlined in Chapter four, I then carried out two pentad analyses – one of the collection as a whole, and one of each of the selected photographs. Here I enter the realm of Barthes' *studium*, consciously considering nominated elements of the photographs and their intersections. However, the pentadic structure shaped this analysis, shifting the impetus from proving or knowing to transformational thinking. This process produced a large amount of data, interpretive and speculative (two examples are provided in Appendix B), from which I have shaped the consideration presented below, based on the two ratios and the pentadic element I have chosen to emphasise, agency.

The discussion is hourglass shaped, moving from the wider view of the collection ratio, to the closer view of the photograph as object (a ground common to the photograph as collective and as individual), and out again to consider several themes identified in the selected photographs. As Burke suggests, there is considerable overlap between the elements of the pentad and the emphases in each area merge into each other. In a more generalised discussion the pentads might retreat altogether, allowing a seamless presentation of the ideas that emerge from them, but given the methodological emphasis of this enquiry, I have maintained the visibility of the

⁶⁷³ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 55.

structure in order to recognise its operation. Finally I present my impressions of Joyce and his Antarctica as thought with these photographs.

7.1 The Joyce collection and the scene-act ratio

7.1.1 Objects and origins

The Ernest Joyce collection was formally accessioned by Canterbury Museum in 1981. A listing of the full collection and the descriptive information in the Museum's database is presented in Appendix C.⁶⁷⁴ It consists of a sundial and compass,⁶⁷⁵ 223 photographs (150 lantern slides and 73 negatives in three sizes), and two wooden boxes in which the lantern slides are stored. It is by Museum convention that these objects are described as a collection. There is nothing to suggest that Joyce considered them to be so. The objects were donated to the Museum by Hastings Boys High School, where they had been sent after the death of Joyce's widow, who had lived with family near Havelock North in the later years of her life. Her nephew appears to have dispersed her estate during the 1960s. The context of the offer to Canterbury Museum is not known, but it is likely to have been sparked by the Museum's drive to become New Zealand's major Antarctic repository, leading up to the opening of its Antarctic display gallery and research library in 1974.⁶⁷⁶ Then curator, David Harrowfield, recalls travelling to Hastings to uplift the objects, describing them as the most significant acquisition during his tenure.⁶⁷⁷ To date, however, the collection has not received the attention that might befit this status. The Museum also holds 6

⁶⁷⁴ Its collective accession number is 1981.110, marking it as 110th group of objects to be added to the Museum's collections that year. In the absence of any other unique identifier, I will refer to the photographs by the third part of their Museum accession number.

⁶⁷⁵ There is no information about the origin of this object. Joyce was presented with a compass by Shackleton, but this was inscribed and the object at Canterbury Museum bears no such engraving. The engraved compass appears to have been sold, with other memorabilia, to a private collector, in 1987. McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, 266.

⁶⁷⁶ See, Roger Duff, *An Antarctic Museum Centre for New Zealand at Christchurch, Hundredth Anniversary Appeal Series* (Christchurch: The Canterbury Museum Trust Board, 1971).

handwritten pages of titles for photographs catalogued as having come from Joyce, but not linked to this accession. The list contains very brief descriptive headings for 54 photographs but cannot be linked productively to the collection.⁶⁷⁸

Joyce's photographs relate to the British Antarctic expeditions carried out during the first two decades of the 20th century. No original order can be established. It is not known whether all of the slides were ever shown or what use might have been made of the negatives, beyond the few that are reproduced in *The South Polar Trail* and the newspaper articles previously discussed. The collection speaks more about potential – the chance that something might be seen, and might be said, than about any resolution of image or intent. It is unlikely that any contemporary of Joyce, outside of his close circle, would have encountered this group as a whole. A lantern lecture audience, for example, would have seen only those slides he chose to bring together on that occasion. Today, without Joyce as a direct gatekeeper, we have the opportunity and challenge of looking across the photographs and considering the interplays, patterns and absences that they present.

Museum collection management procedures separated the compass and photographs to the care of relevant object specialists shortly after their acquisition. The photographs were valued primarily for picture content and the negatives perceived to be the most important because they were unique, or rare. Some were printed and the prints added to the Museum's public access collection. The remaining negatives and

⁶⁷⁷ David Harrowfield, "Email to Kerry McCarthy," (2007).

⁶⁷⁸ They are handwritten copies of lists, comprising five pages and a cover page. The lists are in ink, possibly in written by Joyce, while the cover page is in pencil in another hand (possibly Beatrice's) and the same person has totalled the photographs described on each page. The cover page reads,

"Antarctica Negatives Elephant Island "Endurance" Placed in box March 1941"

Ernest Joyce died in 1940 suggesting that the photographs were tidied away after his death by someone who did not have a detailed knowledge of the events depicted or the formats. Again, Beatrice seems the likely candidate. The photographs in the lists range across a variety of Antarctic subjects and are given very brief descriptions such as "Gunner" or "Ponies on Ice Barrier". Ernest E Mills (presumed) Joyce, "List of Photographs, Canterbury Museum Manuscripts Collection, Ms 365," (Undated), MS365.

the lantern slides were kept in storage, effectively inaccessible to anyone but the curator. Little use was made of them until the early years of this century when two publications about the Ross Sea Party brought a number of the photographs to a wider audience.⁶⁷⁹

To date, 169 of the photographs have been identified at expedition level. Of these, 74 relate to the *Nimrod*, 59 to the *Endurance*, 33 to the *Aurora*, 2 to the *Discovery* and 1 to the *Terra Nova*. The other 54 photographs do not relate to specific expeditions or remain unidentified. Joyce was not present on the *Terra Nova* or the *Endurance*. His photographs are not limited to events in which he was an active player. There may be at work here a desire to be encyclopaedic, perhaps for the benefit of uninitiated audiences or for the Antarctic or expeditioning causes in general, or perhaps simply to appear expert on all of these 'heroic' undertakings. On the surface this broad brush deflects individual attention from Joyce. However, there is a clear emphasis on the *Nimrod* and Imperial Trans-Antarctic expeditions, with *Nimrod* and *Aurora* featuring most strongly among the negatives, and this is where Joyce personalises his photographic Antarctica.

On the basis of numbers and formats, and Joyce's unanticipated involvement with *Discovery*, it seems unlikely that he took a camera on his first Antarctic journey, but more likely that he did on the *Nimrod* and Ross Sea Party expeditions. Certainly, he took photographs on these later expeditions, although it is not clear whether this was on his own camera/s.⁶⁸⁰ Perhaps *Discovery* and the experiences immediately after it taught Joyce both the technical rudiments and constructive value of photography, lessons which he implemented during his later Antarctic involvement and beyond.

⁶⁷⁹ McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton.*, Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party.*

⁶⁸⁰ Beau Riffenburgh has discussed the range of cameras taken on the *Nimrod* expedition, Riffenburgh, *Shackleton's Forgotten Expedition: The Voyage of the Nimrod*, 184.

7.1.2 Associations and identifications

In addition to a group of *Endurance* lantern slides, presumably those provided under Joyce's agreement with Shackleton, the collection includes *Nimrod* photographs probably taken by Sir Philip Brocklehurst, several photographs contained in the albums of *Nimrod* geologist, Sir Raymond Priestley which are now in the Scott Polar Research Institute (eg .11 .36, .66),⁶⁸¹ and one slide (.60) labelled "D Mawson Adelaide". The collection asserts Joyce's associative identification with these and potentially other, currently anonymous, makers as well as the operation of photographs as objects of exchange within networks established by expedition membership.⁶⁸² It also raises the question of the form this access took, suggesting it may have included the loan of objects, particularly glass negatives, for Joyce to duplicate or copy to lantern slides, making this a personal and physical association rather than a detached licensing agreement, and also involving a trust that is material as well as rhetorical. This emphasis on borrowed and commandeered meanings dislocates traditional values of ownership and authorship, emphasising photographic meaning as collective and changing.

Groupings of similar formats and picture styles suggest subsets of common photographer and/or camera. The style of the photographs ranges from high quality and professional to very amateur, indicating that Joyce had access to all levels of the expeditions. He could own a photograph taken by a peer of the realm or one of the world's most famous photographers, but he could also possess an unsophisticated snapshot, made by relatively unskilled hands, perhaps his own. Joyce's photographic identifications flow in two directions. He maintains a 'foot in each camp' but may ultimately be at home in neither. It is not known when Joyce started or stopped

⁶⁸¹ See, Wilson, *Nimrod Illustrated : Pictures from Lieutenant Shackleton's British Antarctic Expedition*. 156-168

⁶⁸² The photograph collection of Silas Wright from the *Terra Nova* expedition provides a clear example of the networks of exchange, copying and re-distribution of photographs that took place among expedition members, see auction catalogue, Christie's, *Expedition & Travel Including the Polar Sale*, 22 September 2010, 70-73. Lots 132, 133

acquiring photographs. However, it would appear that he did stop and, given the vast number potentially available to him, this is a small group.⁶⁸³ The accumulation of at least some of these photographs took place as much as two decades after the events they depict, making the collection also an act of reconstruction, influenced by intervening events.

7.1.3 *In the picture*

It must be assumed that picture content was a strong factor in Joyce's acquisition or manufacture of these photographs. Here I will discuss several patterns of inclusion, exclusion and portrayal that emerge across the collection.

People certainly figure but commonly in the mid-ground or distance, possibly not looking at the camera and not easily recognisable. They are also often occupied in some other activity, frequently work – for example, collecting penguins or penguin eggs in .7, making or breaking camp in .31, or setting out with ponies on the *Nimrod*'s South Polar attempt in .43. These humans are in process and photography flattens extraordinary place and heroic individual into a shared plane of demonstration.

Another grouping of human-related photographs involves the stock key moments of a number of the expeditions, such as the *Nimrod*'s Northern Party at the South Magnetic Pole (.28) and the farthest south point reached by Shackleton's Southern Party on the same expedition (.40). But not all of the major moments of the era are represented. For example, there are no photographs relating to Scott's arrival at the South Pole. This absence highlights the borrowed nature of Joyce's collection, the fragmentation of his access points, and that fact that he was not wholly in control of the Antarctica he could tell through these photographs.

⁶⁸³ It is not known whether Joyce may have at one time owned more photographs relating to his Antarctic experiences but, certainly, no others are known in the family today, Curlett.

There is no individual portrait of Joyce. I can identify him in 11 photographs, 10 of which are from the Ross Sea Party. The other is a *Nimrod* photograph (.36) showing a group listening to the gramophone in the hut. Joyce is at the right of the careful composition but looks away from the camera, apparently playing his part in a highly articulated photographic tableau rather than using it as an opportunity to present himself. There are several other photographs containing a stocky figure who resembles Joyce (for example pulling the sledge in .30, .131 or .150, or making camp in .31 or .147). He would likely have known who these individuals were, giving the photographs a different meaning for him and, in their inexactness, another generative potential. Still, these remain photographs about an activity more than an individual. Joyce in photographs is concentrated in what would be his final expedition and its closing weeks. Although he could not have known it with certainty when the photographs were made, this is the end of Joyce's Antarctic exploring and of the heroic era, and today this repeated turn to the camera evokes a last-ditch attempt to capture something that is almost gone, a realisation just too late of what he was part of, and the beginnings of the making of Captain Joyce, the famous explorer.

There are several classic studio portraits in the collection. One is unidentified.⁶⁸⁴ The others show King George V (.50), Scott (.51 and .79) and Shackleton (.52). This style of photograph resonates with .110 and .226 (Figure 1), which are close and careful head and shoulders portraits, remade for dogs. The representation recalls sculptural busts and propagandist portraiture, and the compositional association with the leaders not only humanises but valorises the dogs alongside the very 'greatest' of the men Joyce has assembled in his photographs. In terms of Burkean hierarchies, these photographs invert traditional conceptions of humans and animals, and may be an attempt by Joyce to identify with the ideals of bravery, strength and perseverance he sees in both the dogs and the leaders. It may also be Joyce's attempt to bring the dogs along with him on his own hierarchical journey beyond Antarctica.

⁶⁸⁴ .223



Figure 1. Head of a sledge dog, probably Ross Sea Party (Con?), ca 1916, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.226

There are more photographs of animals than humans in Joyce's collection. They are often presented up close, sometimes named, and with care taken to ensure that their features are visible. They include Antarctic natives like the ubiquitous penguin, presented as the object of scientific enquiry (eg .5), as part of the experience of place (eg .12, .13, .109), as the quizzical point of interaction between visitor and indigene (.149, .219, .160), or as playful, anthropomorphised curiosity (eg .23, .215). Penguins are not overtly presented as that for which they were most valuable – food. Other Antarctic animals populating the collection include killer whales (.227, .189), seals (.204, .173, .153, .17, .10), and skua (.128, .129). The overall impression wanders between amateur taxonomic zoologist (one of Joyce's roles) creating a field guide for like-minded individuals, and a man constructing himself as more interested in, and more at home with, animals than humans. This hackneyed sentimentalism is not at odds with Joyce's repeated resorts in *The South Polar Trail* to the inspirational verse of Robert Service, and the care taken with the representation of animals certainly outweighs that afforded many of the human targets.

Antarctica as place features in the majority of the photographs. Apart from one photograph of the *Nimrod* leaving Torquay, England (.38) and the studio portraits discussed above, all of Joyce's photographic Antarctica takes place within Antarctic regions. It is not about the journey there or the journey back, although these are the times of the greatest recognition and celebration for the men. Joyce's photographic Antarctica is about removal from the usual time and place. However, mitigating this otherness is the fact that it is always to some extent humanised. The very act of making Antarctica a photograph necessarily draws it into a human frame but in more overt ways the content of the pictures also argues Antarctica as a place where humans operate. Warmed by the presence of familiar forms and activities, Joyce's Antarctica is by turns exotic posting and curious furlough. However, the motivation behind this inward gaze should not be too quickly generalised in imperialist or colonialist terms. In Joyce's case I sense a growing personal motivation that rises in an emphasis on what matters most and is most familiar to him - work - and coalesces in a conscious positioning of self, towards the end of his Antarctic career, as an individual in a place and an event, looking to find his own story.

The most enduring markers of human presence, the huts built by these expeditions, feature in a number of the photographs (eg .2, .3, .161, .164). They suggest relative comfort and confidence in survival, and also the possibility that this is the beginning of an ongoing relationship between Antarctica and humans.⁶⁸⁵ More frequently, however, sledging camps are depicted (eg .31, .15, .16, .34, .35, .41, .133, .136, .138, .147) and, alongside the considerable number of photographs relating to sledging itself (eg .130, .132, .149, .151, .167, .174), they deliver a clear message that Joyce's Antarctica is most intensively about sledging. It takes place out of doors, in remote and unfamiliar places, and involves exertion and intense effort of body and will by small groups of men and dogs. Sledging is what Joyce knows best and it is here that

⁶⁸⁵ The huts were used and reused by successive parties, up until the Ross Sea expedition, and trips to pay homage to and retrieve useful items from one hut to another were common. This layered exchange and referencing to past events sets the foundations for a human Antarctic heritage.

he feels most confident. It is also here that he may have the greatest opportunity to act behind the camera.

Overall, the collection gives the impression of opportunism and fragmentation. It mixes public and personal objectives – reflecting both what Joyce valued (work, dogs, animals, colleagues) and what he believed his audiences would want to see (important events, penguins, key figures). It blurs the well-known and the obscure, the major and the minor. Content development was not something Joyce had tight control of or a firm vision for. He took what he could get and worked to build his case from there. Whether his objective was to illustrate his book and articles, to develop engaging lectures, or simply to get as many pictures from these events as he could, is not clear, but a tenacity of association and possession, and a growing sense of the importance of the representation of self where it mattered most, pervade the collection. It is a work in progress. As suggested by a negative marked out for copying to slide form (.165), it is suspended rather than completed, as was Joyce's overt construction of his Antarctic activities. In May 1939, at the age of 64 and a year before his death, Joyce told a newspaper reporter that he would be "off like a shot" if given the chance to join another expedition. He admitted, though, that he probably now had to content himself with his memories,⁶⁸⁶ memories which were surely fuelled, at least in part, by these photographs.

7.2 Agency: the photographic object

Burke's agency is the how, the means by which rhetoric is enacted, in my construction the photographic object. This agency provides a means of considering the materiality of the photograph alongside its picture content without blurring or undermining these aspects of its operation. It also reasserts the photograph's aura, recalling the duality of image and thing and negotiating a margin between the

⁶⁸⁶ Interview in *People* (London) 28 May 1939, quoted in Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 262-63.

individual photograph and the collective. The photographic objects in Joyce's collection are intermediaries, things around which work takes place and through which it is expressed. They are works in the sense of made objects, and also working objects, links in a chain of (re)presentation rather than 'finished' photographic products. They are all made of glass, and not intended to be viewed in the hand. They are difficult to hold and their pictures are difficult to see, but they also reveal biographical events and interactions that printed or scanned copies cannot.

Despite their material coldness, these objects carry a special sense of closeness to people who have gone before, including Joyce himself. They provide an interaction with the normally unseen 'backstage' tools he used to construct his publicly consumable version of Antarctica, and of himself. They are the objects he held, and sometimes probably made, for this purpose. As well as the light-written traces of their picture targets, the objects bear traces of the hands of their makers and subsequent custodians and, from the other side of the protective barrier provided by the museum-issued white cotton glove, my fingers join theirs in an ongoing conversation that is haptic as well as metaphorical.

Joyce's numerical emphasis on the *Nimrod*, *Endurance* and *Aurora* mark him out as a 'Shackleton man', perhaps hinting at an attraction to something beyond the expectations of his Royal Navy background. Numbers also push the collection's overriding functional intent towards lantern lecturing, with slides outnumbering negatives by two to one. Lantern slides are photographs for public rather than domestic consumption. Made retrospectively, they are fundamentally re-productions. Joyce may have been active in their physical manufacture and their performance, but he need not have taken part in the photographic acts that precede this.

Lantern slides are also intimately connected with words and celebrity, and it is here that Joyce could make the pictures his. It is intended that talking, and marvelling, take place around them. It is also intended that they be perceived as disembodied,

large-scale projections by all but the lecturer and projectionist. As it has turned out, however, Joyce's lantern slides have lived most of their lives in the seclusion of a domestic cupboard or a museum store, and have been encountered as awkward hand-held objects more frequently than as dramatic projections.⁶⁸⁷ Joyce the Antarctic lecturer was a short-lived phenomenon, but his photographs continue to connote his Antarctica in other ways. They are not necessarily 'his' in a personal sense but are part of a shared and contestable constructive process.

There are no prints or albums in the collection, none of the domesticated, dinner party statements of experience that populated the parlours of the polar families recalled by Wilson and Skelton. This is Joyce's Antarctica for, and indeed by, others, not so much about recollection or sentimentality as about proclamation and tenacity. Joyce's photographic Antarctica was part of his present. The relative impersonality of the objects, the difficulty of interacting with them, and their technological obsolescence may have contributed to their transfer to an overtly public context after Beatrice's death. Their subject matter and association with Joyce were presumably at the forefront of the family's decision to donate the photographs to a boys' high school, and the subsequent decision to pass them to Canterbury Museum, but the awkward nature of the objects may also have kept them on this path away from the drawing room. Interestingly, there is no record of the photographs having been offered for sale alongside the papers purchased by the Alexander Turnbull Library. A hierarchy of perceived value pushed them aside from the written word, a marginalisation which is only now being questioned.

7.2.1 Copying and inscribing

Within the collection there are several material groupings (for example groups of lantern slides with identical binder papers) which indicate batched manufacture over

⁶⁸⁷ Joyce's great nephew recalls being shown them on one or two occasions by Beatrice, who brought them with considerable ceremony from their usual resting place in a cupboard.

time and, putting aside the *Endurance* group, the material similarities across the collection are greater than the differences, suggesting that Joyce himself may have made many of these objects.

Joyce has been described as an inveterate copyist⁶⁸⁸ and this is confirmed by the workings and reworkings of his writing in the Alexander Turnbull Library. By the turn of the twentieth century the home manufacture of lantern slides was widespread, with instructions featuring in publications such as *Handicraft for Boys*⁶⁸⁹ and *Amateur Work* magazine.⁶⁹⁰ In this climate, and given Joyce's exposure to photographic processes during his Antarctic activities, it would not be surprising for his copying proclivity to be expressed in the manufacture of lantern slides. This everyday 'DIY' accomplishment fits well with the construction of Joyce as a self-reliant, practical, labour-focused man. As has been discussed, lantern slides were also very much part of life in the Antarctic huts, and Joyce's ownership of lantern slide making, and probably also negative processing and copying, as well as lantern lecturing, may be viewed as another assertion of his 'Antarcticness', something which is in his life because of Antarctica.

Lantern slides are made from two 3 1/4" squares of glass, one bearing the image, the other covering it. Between them is often a mounting window, made of paper, which determines the visible margins of the projected image. The object is held together along the edges with a thin binding strip of adhered paper. Lantern slides were produced by copying from negatives. The collection includes at least one pair of

Curlett.

⁶⁸⁸ Riffenburgh.

⁶⁸⁹ Frederick A Collins, *Handicraft for Boys* (Frederick A Stokes Company, 1918 [cited 1 November 2010]; available from <http://chestofbooks.com/home-improvement/woodworking/Handicraft-For-Boys/How-to-Make-a-Magic-Lantern.html>.

⁶⁹⁰ R G Harris, *Lantern Slide Making, Amateur Work Magazine Vol 3* (Draper Publishing Company, 1904 [cited 1 November 2010]; available from <http://chestofbooks.com/crafts/popular-mechanics/Amateur-Work-3/Lantern-Slide-Making-I-Introduction-Slides-by-Contact.html>.

identical negative and lantern slide (.108 and .172⁶⁹¹), as well as the negative apparently marked out for copying with a lantern slide form pencilled onto the emulsion (.165). The collection also contains unmounted slides (eg .51) and unused mounting paper, all of which suggests that Joyce was making slides, and also that many of the negatives he copied did not remain in his possession.⁶⁹²

The physical production of the majority of the objects in the collection is not of a high quality. Commonly, for example, the white markers intended to show which way the lantern slides should be inserted into the projector are located on the back rather than the front of the objects, suggesting that their intent was not clear to the person who made them (eg .5). The result of this transposition is that the slides could easily be projected in reverse, giving the markers greater potential to subvert rather than support the pictures' intended rhetorics. A more recent outcome of this misplacement is that several of the slides have been scanned in reverse by the Museum, taking the loading marker to be the front of the picture, and underlining the ongoing operation of error in thinking with photographs. However, this might not have been such a concern for Joyce who was often thinking about scenes and pictures he knew. He would have spoken as much to his memory images and to his desires as to the detail of the photographs.

Most commonly the markers have been used for referencing, bearing fragments of now impenetrable numbering systems. On .5, for example, two white adhesive paper dots appear on the reverse of the slide. On the left one is written "set" and the right "13" (with another digit possibly lost due to a tear in the label), while .10 has the code "N272" in blue pen on the glass below the image and repeated in white on the window paper behind the cover glass. This number must have been assigned before the slide was put together. There are several classifying systems and probably more than one classifier at work here. The listings these codes refer to appear to be lost, but

⁶⁹¹ Interestingly .172 is one of the large negatives of Hurley photographs discussed in 7.2.2.

they point to a shared physical and intellectual enactment in which Joyce may have been one player.

There are very few other textual descriptions on the slides, despite the presence of a white space in the pre-produced binder paper on most for this purpose. The slides' maker or owner seldom took up the opportunity to layer words on top of pictures, perhaps an example of Joyce making himself indispensable as interpreter and not envisioning a life for these objects beyond his involvement with them. However, words do interact with the photographs from time to time. For example, .32 is marked "Log" and "page" at the top right. Such fragmentary inscriptions seek out the viewer's attention but may confound understanding when they shed no light on image content, making the act of looking at the photograph a double act aimed also at making sense of the words, and reversing the traditional relationship between picture and word, as argued by Benjamin.

There is also a newer layer of textual codification on the binder paper of all of the slides and the enclosures for the negatives – Canterbury Museum's catalogue number. This refers the initiated to the Museum's collection database within which the scant information known or speculated about the photographs and objects is assembled. It introduces another gatekeeper to the functioning of the objects, signifying a new conception of ownership which recontextualises them as heritage items in the public domain, and confers upon them the fixity and interpretive implications of the title of 'collection'. Here, the Museum is construed as 'the' authority, in the absence of any other claiming words, whether or not this status is intellectually or experientially deserved. This code creates another aura around the object and another layer of mystification.

⁶⁹² Some clearly were not his so may have been returned to their owners but others, like a number of the Ross Sea Party photographs, are more likely to have been (eg .165).

There is a potential inherent in the production of copies from negatives, compounded in the case of lantern slides by the visual ambiguity of the resulting object, to destabilise constructed surface meanings. Photographs operate within and around inversions, opposites, poles and recreations, and swing on a balance between entropy and atrophy of meaning and intent. Whether Joyce recognised this flux and perhaps even semi-consciously played with it in his (mis)placement of dots and codes, remains speculative. However, it gives rise to an impression of Antarctica, and of Joyce, as unresolved, un-tamable and ultimately un-knowable.

7.2.2 *Assembling*

The assembly of the slide objects also frequently points towards inexperienced and indelicate hands. In .17, for example, the white mounting paper is wrinkled and not stuck down properly. In .32 the binding paper does not meet at the top left corner and the glass sheets are misaligned. There are four 'blobs' in the emulsion at the top left and vertical 'tide marks' at the left. In .133 the mount is assembled from four rectangles of black paper, rather than the prefabricated window more frequently seen in these and other lantern slides. The pieces of paper have not been aligned neatly making the edges of the image irregular. They have also been placed unevenly, giving a wider border at the right than the left, and the adhesive used to hold them together has spilt out and is visible within the slide. In addition to a lack of skill, a sense of hurry, even impatience, emerges from these objects.

The paper mounts in the slides may obscure elements of photographs and influence the picture messages they deliver. In .67, for example, the mount crops the original photograph vertically, especially at the left,⁶⁹³ to centralise the ship. Similarly, in .130 extra pieces of mounting paper have been added to remove apparently extraneous sky and focus the viewer's attention on the narrative elements of the picture – the dogs

⁶⁹³ The continuation of the image is still visible though the paper but would not have been seen when the slide was projected.

and the sledge. However, this has been somewhat clumsily done so that the left and right extremities of these items (the point of the axe to which the dogs are tethered and the back of the sledge) are lost. The selective and individualised use of the mounting strips indicates that the photographs were not perceived as an inalienable pictorial whole, but as something to be worked on, manipulated and transformed. Direct intervention into image quality is also sometimes evident. On .132, for example, retouching has taken place on Joyce's clothing and around the legs of the back dog and the man adjacent to it. This is not very skilfully done but indicates a desire to emphasise certain elements of the narrative over and above the limitations of the photograph. The motivations behind these interventions are aesthetic and interpretive, but they are also acts of will. The force of work brought to bear upon the photograph might make it more closely resemble what its user wants it to be.

The maker's acts also register unintentionally around the picture content. Slide .130, for example, contains areas of very high contrast and low detail that may be part of the original negative but may also have resulted during copying. Other visual 'noise' in the form of dark dots, probably dust on the original copied to make the slide (eg .39 in sky area), and other marks and discolourations (eg .30) continue to suggest an inexperienced hand, working in conditions that were far from a professional laboratory. The negatives appear to be standard commercial dry gelatin plates. Most are of the smaller sizes typically used by amateurs at the time, and also bear traces of an inexperienced hand or hands. Light has intruded darkening the right and left of .2, for example, either during processing or initial exposure in the camera. Similarly at the right of .4 there is a large darkened area about 15mm wide running from top to bottom. As image content is still visible in this area, it seems likely that it was caused by light intrusion during processing, suggesting a maker who was still mastering these techniques.

Negative .2 also appears to be unusually thickly varnished and circular patterns have been worked, probably with fingertips, into the sky area while the varnish was wet.

This was presumably a technique to aid in printing this visually featureless area, another example of the pictorially marginal being modified in the search for a consumable visual narrative. A similar treatment is evident on .194 and here a series of fingerprints were also etched into the surface of the wet varnish. This grip point is noticeable on several negatives (eg .2 top left and bottom left, .4 lower right) revealing how the maker held the plate while tipping the varnish across it. Whoever constructed these negatives apparently did so with printing in mind, but the lack of prints in Joyce's collection suggests a rupture in intent, possibly brought about by a change in ownership or a change in perceived usefulness. Of course, the creation of lantern slides might be another envisaged outcome of these negatives, which themselves may be copies from negatives loaned by other expedition members.

At least some of these objects, both negatives and lantern slides, are likely to have been made in Antarctica, giving them further auratic value as things present among the activities and people of the heroic era. Among these are five large negatives (61/2 x 81/2") of Hurley photographs. This format was more commonly used by professionals by the mid-1910s, and these are the only plates of this size in the group. The photographs are represented in the official Hurley collection at the Royal Geographical Society in London but only by original prints.⁶⁹⁴ Perhaps these are duplicate negatives Joyce made or was given. However, their quality is consistent and consistently higher than the others, and the absence of the plates in the official collection suggests they could also be original Hurley plates, part of the set famously recovered from the sinking *Endurance* and carried across the ice, and eventually back to London in Hurley's hermetically sealed cases. It is not impossible to envisage that Joyce may have borrowed the negatives while they were still in Shackleton's possession in the years immediately after the expedition and, for some now unknown reason, did not return them. Of course, this remains speculative, but on negative .174 fingerprints are visible in the emulsion surface, especially at the lower left, and these could be Hurley's fingerprints, impressed at the time of manufacture and providing a

⁶⁹⁴ Jamie Owen, (Royal Geographical Society), Email to Kerry McCarthy, 29 April 2009.

physical connectedness which may shift the collection into a different league in terms of its 'possession' of Antarctic narratives.

The *Endurance* lantern slides are also mainly Hurley photographs. They would appear to be at least part of the set Joyce obtained under his lecturing agreement with Shackleton. It is not clear whether these were given or sold to Joyce as a pre-produced set, or selected, or even copied by him. Certainly, by comparison to the rest of the collection, they are uniformly and neatly made, with projection dots at the front right as would be expected. The *Endurance*'s meteorologist, Leonard Hussey, also had a set of lecture slides and this is now owned and used by Geoff Selley in the United Kingdom. A comparison of the two groups shows Joyce's, as it exists today, to be smaller (There are 54 slides currently identified in the Joyce group and 98 in the Hussey group, although not all are from the *Endurance* expedition.). However, both sets are uniformly assembled and mounted and exhibit the same unusual colour casting,⁶⁹⁵ indicating that they may well have been made professionally for Joyce, and other approved users, although not necessarily as a consistent set.⁶⁹⁶

These physical clues indicate that there almost definitely was more than one maker behind the objects in the Joyce collection. It is also interesting to speculate about the impression made by a lecture using the very skilled Hurley photographs for the Weddell Sea Party and Joyce's very amateur slides for the Ross Sea Party end of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition. The picture styles would undoubtedly establish and reinforce hierarchies of impression. However Joyce came to possess these photographs, and whatever their true authorship, the *Endurance* grouping demonstrates a high level connectedness to the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition,

⁶⁹⁵ This is discussed in more detail in 7.2.3. Selley also believes that the text accompanying his slides was written by Hussey, suggesting that the men were able to set their own commentary. Geoff Selley, Email to Kerry McCarthy, 7 May 2010.

⁶⁹⁶ Interestingly, there are a number of duplicates among these slides in the Joyce collection. However, they exhibit a consistent manufacturing quality and numbering system suggesting they were produced at the same time or at least by the same maker, rather than being

at least in the early years following its completion, which is not evident for the Scott expeditions.

7.2.3 Time and distance

These objects have traversed more of the globe and more years than most human lifetimes and their journey is imprinted on them, as it is on the men they depict. Travelling by sea (from Antarctica to England or from England to New Zealand), for example, introduces salt air and an uncommon concentration of chemicals to the volatile mix inherent in the photographs, as well as an uncommon risk of structural damage. Such brief periods of activity and change register more acutely on the objects than long periods of disuse, shaping a material biography that is episodic as well as durational.

Fingerprints are frequent accretions, some obviously from the objects' inception, others from later interactions. They are traces amplified and made permanent by the chemistry of the photograph, its support materials, and the environment it inhabits, and they are generally unintentional. On .71 fingerprints are impressed into the then-wet adhesive spilt around the binder paper adjacent to the top margin. At the top left of .137 a fingerprint appears to have bloomed inside the cover glass. On negative .165, fingerprints and other smudges likely to be made by several generations of hands adorn the glass side of the object. Fingerprints may be read as the ongoing physical involvement of their makers in discussions about Antarctica. If the photograph says "I was here," the fingerprint adds "And I still am." Museums, especially, try to stop fingerprints, requiring that collection objects be handled only while wearing gloves. In this construction, fingerprints are viewed as markers of deterioration, but they may also be seen as a register of the object's biography and of haptic conversations that are suspended by museological intervention. Paradoxically,

potentially an 'original' and a later copy made from it by Joyce. See .75 and .81, .59 and .104, .66 and .84.

though, this most archetypically individual of markers is here stretched to generalisation by anonymity.

There is also a crystalline deposit on many of the objects, particularly the lantern slides. These photographic barnacles take the form of white salt-like accretions, sometimes flowering into fingerprints (eg .140), sometimes just white spots on the glass. They are evidence of an intense chemical reaction, firmly etched onto and into the objects, and resolutely part of them (eg .40, .33, .71, .93). On several slides these crystals take on vein-like forms, fingering their way around elements of the picture. On .144, for example, crystal tentacles intrude around Shackleton's and Wild's heads, and along the sides and bottom of picture, moving out from the mounting paper in their own act of chemical exploration.

The Hurley lantern slides also share an odd colour casting that marks them off from the rest of the collection. On .67, for example, the black and whites tones are overridden by a strong yellow, particularly in the lower area and into the right sky. In raking light a red tone is also visible at the top left. Something unexpected has happened to this photograph over time, augmenting its monochromatic drama and raising its voice for today's viewer. Slides .95, .96 .108, .110 and .129 all share this phenomenon.

The photographs are made from one of the most fragile and quintessentially modern of materials - glass - and their journey is also traced by breakage. In .16, for example, a significant crack runs through the mounting glass, registering as black lines on the scanned image which cut across the footprints of the photographer in the snow, an intersection between the literal path of the traveller made symbol and the literal path of symbol object. Similarly, .133 is cracked through both sheets of glass, horizontally above the middle and at the top right corner. The dislodged pieces have been re-adhered with sellotape. This tape would presumably have been added before the slide entered the Museum and, although adhesive tapes were available in Joyce's lifetime,

it would appear to be from a more recent period. It speaks of the intervention of another set of caring hands, possibly those of Joyce's widow, or someone at the school which had custody of the collection after her death. The tape is a reminder that the current moment is but one phase in an ongoing series of interactions that will leave their traces on these objects.

These perceived degradations are furtive, often intruding slowly and largely unnoticed. They may lead to certain photographs being overlooked in favour of those which have fared better in terms of likeness to their original state. The museological intent to halt or at least slow this process can be a losing battle as the objects resist human control. These chemical exchanges are an expression of the photographic object's independent existence. The photograph is always chemically as well as rhetorically alive, and biological changes feed into the picture's life, emphasising, obscuring and even obliterating elements of its content. These traces and object modifications carry a terminal proximity that overrides the speculative and more esoterically physical associations inherent in the pictures they adorn and are part of. They reassert a material aura around objects which have been demonstrably made, held, worked with, touched and broken over many decades. The Museum has not attempted to remove these traces, and this resource and value-driven decision to stabilise rather than intervene has contributed to the preservation of an enigmatic associative history.

7.3 *Individual photographs and the act-agent ratio*

The act-agent ratio emphasises a more conventionally visual interaction with photographs, the interaction their makers most likely had in mind, and which was ascendant in my *punctum*-informed selection based on viewing scans on a computer screen. However, the shape of the scanned photographs pointed towards their original formats, and losses, cracks and other material oddities were among the elements that attracted me to certain of them. Apart from my own prior familiarity with some of the

photographs and the events they depict, specific pictorial narratives and associated text were not an important part of the selection process. My reaction was to these photographs as pictures and objects more than as records of certain events. In general, and to some degree in retrospect, my interest in this group⁶⁹⁷ arises from a mixture of formal and abstractive qualities, and a liking for the infrequently seen, the difficult to engage with, and the untidy. However, it also includes a number of well known and well crafted photographs, particularly those by Frank Hurley, whose beauty and familiarity triggered further interest. These values are influenced by my having worked with historic photographs, and specifically historic Antarctic photographs, for a long period, being familiar with those that are widely seen, and also with a general move towards recognition of the marginalised and the awkward in much thinking and creativity today.

In relation to the collection as a whole, my selection numerically favours the Ross Sea Party (13 photographs) and lantern slides (33 photographs, of which 10 relate to the Ross Sea Party). I did not set out to focus on this expedition or this format. These photographs simply appealed to me in the highest concentration. The emphasis on lantern slides seems to support the previous selective hand of Joyce in choosing or making these photographs for discussion with others. The Ross Sea Party photographs are also very ‘amateur’, providing extra intrigue and challenge, and confirming the sense that the Ross Sea Party is Joyce’s Antarctic moment, and that these photographs are one means available to him to convince us of this. Here I will discuss a number of patterns and tropes that arose from my consideration of these 42 photographs, highlighted by a closer discussion of several that proved particularly productive.

⁶⁹⁷ Which is itself a subset, potentially open to another collective analysis.

7.3.1 *Transition and ritual*

Close consideration of act and agent confirms these photographs to be narratively and performatively episodic, but also often terminal in the sense of marking endings – of sledging journeys or the expedition itself, for example. However, these endings frequently reveal themselves to be points of transition, such as moving from the end of active sledging to the beginning of waiting for rescue in the Ross Sea Party, or from the Antarctic phase to the homeward phase as the survivors board the ship. Marginal sites are also often visible – horizons, coast lines, periods of thaw; zones of slippage between the known and the unknown, involving a figurative transitionality that is part of the marginal operation of photographs as thought by Edwards.

The act-agent ratio also demonstrates photography to be a ritual enacted at mutually agreed points of liminal or other worthiness, as well as an expression and register of ritualistic behaviours. Photography is incorporated into the process of conclusion seeking, providing a means of demonstration, but also operating to express deeper transitional tropes such as catharsis and scapegoating. The meeting point of ritual and photographic expectation may be glimpsed in acts done in advance for the creation of a photograph, acts which also demonstrate photography's influence on human behaviours. An example is the makeshift Union Jack made from a red handkerchief and scraps of blue and white fabric hoisted at the South Magnetic Pole (.28, Figure 2).⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁸ E M David, *Professor David* (London: Edward Arnold & Co, 1937), 164-65. The flag was made by Day. Shackleton had taken the expedition's two official Union Jacks, including one presented by Queen Alexandra, on the South Geographic Polar attempt. They are depicted in .39 and .40 below.



Figure 2. *Nimrod* Northern Party at South Magnetic Pole, 16 January 1909, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.28

This ritualistic act of geo-political ‘conquer’ through flag raising and verbal recitation⁶⁹⁹ is enacted for the unhearing but all-seeing camera, and for the explorers themselves, creating a double-layered symbol (ritual and photograph), and underlining the incorporation of photography into pre-existing formalised behaviours.

Here, the photographer (insofar as any individual fulfils this role) is also the photographed. Party leader, Edgeworth David (centre) is pulling a string to release the shutter after the scene was set up by Mawson.⁷⁰⁰ This situation recognises the collaborative nature of these photographs and of the endeavours they acknowledge through visual presence. The photographer’s eye is not external or dispassionate, and the collaboration emphasises the photograph as something made rather than

⁶⁹⁹ See Professor David’s account in, Ernest Shackleton, *Shackleton in the Antarctic (Adapted from the Heart of the Antarctic)*. (Hero Libr.) (Lond.: 1911), 215-16.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid., 215.

something taken.⁷⁰¹ It also stresses the inward icy monologue of Antarctic exploration, and the intensity of the small groups of men involved.

David describes an “... intense satisfaction and relief ...” at this moment,⁷⁰² although he also admits to an utter weariness that deprived them of any ability to celebrate their achievement,⁷⁰³ and this is what registers most for me in the dazed faces and stances of the men. A similar attempt to bolster achievement in the face of exhaustion is Shackleton’s farthest south camp (.39, Figure 3). Here failure enters the narrative as the decision has been made to abandon the attempt to reach the South Geographic Pole. From this camp the men will walk on a short distance, carry out another ritual, take another photograph, and begin the return march towards Joyce’s Minna Bluff depot. Joyce was not part of this polar party but the supply depot he and his team laid was vital to its survival. This is when Joyce is first acknowledged for exercising initiative and taking a leading role on the ice, giving these photographic moments an extra reflected importance in his Antarctic experience. Photographs allow identification by association as well as by visual presence, enabling Joyce, the Antarctic bridesmaid, to imply his way into the bridal gown.

⁷⁰¹ Many of the men on these expeditions operate as both photographer and photographed at different times.

⁷⁰² Shackleton, *Shackleton in the Antarctic (Adapted from the Heart of the Antarctic)*. (Hero Libr.), 215.

⁷⁰³ Shackleton, *The Heart of the Antarctic Being the Story of the British Antarctic Expedition 1907-1909*, 181.



Figure 3. *Nimrod* farthest south camp, approximately 9 January 1909, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.39



Figure 4. *Nimrod* farthest point south, 9 January 1909, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.40

Slide .40 is the group's next photograph (Figure 4), showing essentially animated clothing and a flag, the humans behind them barely visible. The flag is erected to mark the farthest south point on which humans had then set foot providing, ostensibly, an overt declaration of Imperial intent. However, this is also the point of abandonment and resignation to the rigours of the return journey. From left to right, the photograph shows Jameson Adams, Frank Wild and Eric Marshall, Shackleton having retreated behind the camera. It was taken on 9 January 1909, and just over a week earlier Wild had written in his diary

Neither A[dams] or M[arshall] have been pulling worth a damn and consequently S[hackleton] and I have to suffer. ...

I am now beginning to be doubtful of success as I don't think we can make our food supply last long enough. If only we had Joyce and Marston here instead of these two grub scoffing useless beggars we would have done it easily.⁷⁰⁴

This contextualising information adds a new interest to both the absence of Shackleton and the uncomfortable pose of Wild in the photograph. It also, of course, points directly to Joyce and to the potential, in Wild's eyes at least, for a quite different unfolding of Antarctic history had Joyce been more central to this part of its performance. With Wild's words in mind, this most conservative and formulaic symbolic act of territorial acquisition, becomes a site for destabilisation and the disruption of assumptions.

The photograph also introduces a new kind of margin – the nominated southern extremity of terrestrial human experience. This is not the relatively simple transition from trodden land to sailed sea that might be read, as Edwards has demonstrated, in the depiction of a beach. Rather this is a transition from the known to the unknown, that is an intellectual and emotional transition as much as a geographical one. It is also, in terms of the close relationship between Antarctic exploration and photography, the point of transition between that which has been submitted to the

⁷⁰⁴ Frank Wild's diary 31 Dec 1908, quoted in Leif Mills, *Frank Wild* (Whitby: Caedmon, 1999), 96.

human act of photographic enactment, and that which has not. The beyond is glimpsed behind the row of men and their flag, but it is the featureless white void of the Antarctic interior, invisible to the lens of their early twentieth century camera. This ideational liminality turns in, once again, on the men and the flag, locating the transition in them rather than the destination. The photograph is the bodily enactment of an idea more than the depiction of a destination.

And, of course, for now, this limen will not be crossed and the men will begin their retreat march to Joyce's supply depot. As they hollowly perform achievement, they are experiencing loss and, no doubt, concern. This photograph and the ritual it marks make an event of a non-event, a place of a non-place, and a celebration of defeat. In this sense, photographs are transformational and illusory. They are part of the process of convincing ourselves that something has taken place. They may also be a manifestation of duty – there are certain times when a photograph must be made, whether you feel like it or not. Photographs are about the need to live up to, or approximate, expectations, to put on a brave face even when that face is not visible. Burke has argued that aspirational ideals are functional impossibilities, and photographs may be one way humans perform their desire and their inability to measure up. At another level, though, this photograph is also about hope, hope for a safe return. It commends leadership and humanity since Shackleton's decision to turn back was influenced strongly by the needs of the men.⁷⁰⁵ His loyalty to the safety of his party, and himself, outweighed his determination to be the first to the South Pole.

Joyce's returning Ross Sea Party sledging group (.137, Figure 5) presents another collaborative portrait where all of the surviving men register their return to Hut Point through the ritual of photography, with Hayward pulling the string to the camera, declaring their duty done and their goal achieved. The composition of the photograph recalls conventions for sports teams, regiments or graduation photographs, with the men lined up in two rows, the front seated, the second standing. It also recalls the

photographs taken by Scott's party at the South Pole on the *Terra Nova* expedition. However, Joyce's group does not have a flag and stakes its claim in the name of endurance and collective survival, for now. I do not know who determined that the photograph should be taken at this time and in this way, but the odd number of people has resulted in a compositional imbalance, with Joyce standing isolated to the right. This might hint at his dislocation from the group, an outsidership that pervades much of his self construction and the construction of him by others. It might also serve to draw greater attention to Joyce – the only individual visible from head to toe.



Figure 5. Ross Sea Party, Mt Hope sledging group on return to Hut Point, L-R: back row, Richards, Mackintosh, Joyce; front row: Wild, Hayward, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.137

However, pushing beyond this somewhat simplistic symbolism, the arrangement also draws attention to the void, the space that should be filled by Spencer-Smith who succumbed to scurvy during the journey. Joyce's positioning adjacent to this gap may reflect his personal reaction to Spencer-Smith's death, just nine days earlier, in an

⁷⁰⁵ Shackleton, *The Heart of the Antarctic*, 342-48.

undertaking which Joyce apparently perceived himself to be leading in its latter stages. In this way, the photograph becomes cathartic – assuaging Joyce’s guilt at the sacrifice of the scapegoat by reincorporating him into the group through an emphasis on his absence. The gap also provides a space in which to contemplate the contribution of all those involved in this ultimately, though not yet knowingly, futile undertaking.

This is also a photograph about proof. Like Ponting’s much more studied and legible representations of returning sledging parties, it is staged to demonstrate the worn and dishevelled state of the men, presenting a transient version of wildness for the taming camera. However, the lack of skill, effort or energy available to think the photograph through, has resulted in poor visual resolution, making it a desperate reaction rather than a carefully premeditated act. Its juxtaposition of convention and hysteria registers more acutely than the minimal visible detail. The photographic act and its accompanying conventions provide a means of seeking reconnection to the outside world. The group has reached its destination and, should the men not return bodily to ‘civilisation’, this photograph will at least testify that their duty was done.

This reading of the photograph also contrasts it with Shackleton’s farthest south group. Mackintosh and Joyce did not abandon their journeys to protect the safety of the men involved, but nor could they, since, to their knowledge, the survival of Shackleton and his party again relied on them. Theirs was a duty beyond which they did not have the luxury of self-determination. Spencer-Smith, and all of these men, were to some extent victims of duty, a transformational realisation that perhaps shaped much of Joyce’s reconstruction of himself, and his photographs, for the remainder of his life.

From the standpoint of the future, another imminent scapegoating act may also be recognised here. When the photograph was made, Mackintosh and Hayward were very ill with scurvy (all of the men were suffering from the condition, but these two

particularly badly). However, they muster the strength to present a unified face to the camera, Hayward in a seated position and Mackintosh standing, but possibly leaning against Joyce for support. Indeed, there is a sense that the composition may have grown around Hayward's need to be seated – he and the string he pulls to the camera anchor this farce of photographic convention performed by a dissolute and exhausted cast that has become thoroughly icy.

McElrea and Harrowfield reproduce the photograph and believe it to be almost certainly the last photograph of Mackintosh and Hayward.⁷⁰⁶ The two men will recuperate over the coming weeks with the help of their colleagues but will soon leave the group, against advice from Joyce in particular, to walk across the new sea ice towards the Cape Evans base, with no equipment and only a small bag of food forced on them, again, by Joyce.⁷⁰⁷ Shortly after their departure a blizzard set in which lasted several days. Mackintosh and Hayward did not reach their destination and their bodies were never found. Their expulsion from the group was self driven, and the inclusion of this visually poor lantern slide in Joyce's lecturing repertoire may also be a way of reincorporating Mackintosh and Hayward into his construction of the achievements of the Ross Sea Party, again assuaging his guilt at not having been able to stop them from walking to their deaths. This indistinct photograph is marginalised by a surface opacity but functions richly as a site for considering the dynamics surrounding its creation and use.

This cathartic transitionality once again reveals Joyce's Antarctic rhetoric to be opened-ended. The photographs are Joyce's means of taking Antarctica with him through the rest of his life. He might not set foot in Antarctica again, but the photographs allow him to participate in the mythology that grows up around it over

⁷⁰⁶ See caption with reproduction of this photograph in illustrations section, McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, between 176 and 77.

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid., 203. Hayward also cut a photograph of his fiancée from the fly leaf of his journal to carry with him. Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 196.

the remaining quarter century of his life and beyond. Joyce has become 'Antarctic' but needs to find a shape for that identity that can be recognised by others. His Antarctica has shifted from positional to symbolic but continues to shape the performance of his life, as, to paraphrase Burke once more, Joyce strives to make himself over in the image of the images.

7.3.2 *The picture maker*

The closing weeks of the Ross Sea Party are particularly densely photographed in my selection. Here there emerges an uneasy desire for *denouement*. The work is done and this should be the time to return home, but neither Shackleton nor the ship has arrived to take the narrative to its anticipated closing stages. In these photographs I see a desire for the right ending to occur, played out in the knowledge that it remains far from certain. This could be the calm after the storm or it could merely be its eye. The men are waiting for something, anything, to happen and photography is one of the distractions that rises fill the gap created by the absence of workaday duty. They are also preparing to remember something that should almost be over. Photography becomes more frequent and more relaxed as the men's minds turn to recalling rather than doing. Of course, the potential to recall is itself an aspiration in these circumstances. Making a photograph that will aid memory may also be an assertion that the memory itself will endure.

This is the time when Joyce is most clearly pictured, sometimes in negatives (eg .165) and sometimes in lantern slides that appear to be copied from the same series, although the negatives do not survive in the collection (eg .140). If these photographs were taken on Joyce's camera, which seems likely given the presence of a number of the negatives and the fact that they appear to feature only in Joyce's publications prior to their acquisition by Canterbury Museum, this says something about how Joyce used photographs as a means of placing himself into meaningful settings around which he and the future might construct his image. Perhaps, like many tourists today,

he was prone to handing his camera to someone and saying “Could you take a photo of me over there?” This might also account for Joyce’s marginality in many of these pictures. Often, he is looking directly at the camera and engaging with the photographic process while other human agents are focussed elsewhere.

Whether by creation or selection, there is a strong sense of Joyce placing himself into the picturing of the Ross Sea Party. By now he has watched others build their photographic Antarticas and their Antarctic personae for a number of years, both on the ice and back at home. Joyce might not be Shackleton, the great explorer and expedition leader, but Shackleton was not present with the Ross Sea Party and nor even was that group’s leader Aeneas Mackintosh in the expedition’s closing months. This is Joyce’s moment and these are Joyce’s photographs and in them he can be, or seek to be, whatever he chooses. However, if he does raise his head above the parapet even only through photographs, Joyce also opens himself up to the risk of failure that haunts self determination, and his tentative centralisation hints at a fragility and an imperfect belief in what he is doing.

In .140 (Figure 6), for example, Joyce, Richards and Wild⁷⁰⁸ (tent mates from the Mt Hope journey) are depicted outdoors with the three surviving dogs, on a sunny day. Their act is overtly photographic, but it is ancillary to a wider act of recovery, basking in the glow of the sun and objectives achieved, but also healing, mourning and processing the feelings involved with surviving when other members of the party did not. Antarctica as an agent in this photograph is not the Antarctica known from many others. The snow has melted. There is no grand imposing icy plain, but a close rocky setting and the hut in the background. This Antarctica is pleasant and sunny, not comfortable, but not menacing either. It is a manageable, ‘backyard’ Antarctica which is living, recognisably seasonal, and cyclical. The men have become icy, and Antarctica slightly less so.



Figure 6. Ross Sea Party, group at Cape Evans, 1916, L-R: Richards, Wild, Joyce, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.140

All three men are aware of the photograph but participate in different ways. Joyce stands upright making him, unusually, the tallest in the group, with Oscar in front on a lead, like a pet. He looks straight at the camera. By contrast, Wild looks at the dog in front of him, who is raised up on his hind legs supported by Wild's forearm. Wild's glance and this anthropomorphised stance deflect attention from man to dog. Richards, meanwhile, squints towards the camera but is not 'ready' for it, also focusing attention more on the moving dog in front of him. Here, Joyce seems primarily to have made or selected a photograph of himself in meaningful surroundings (human, geographical and canine). A single plate photograph such as this would take some to set up. This photography was not about running off a lot of 'shots' as might be the case later, and photographer and target would be expected to think carefully about when to press the button. Perhaps Joyce called for the photograph to be taken at that moment, knowing he was ready and not caring too

⁷⁰⁸ This is Ernest Wild, the younger brother of Frank Wild who had been with Joyce on the *Discovery* and *Nimrod* expeditions. Frank was with Shackleton's *Endurance* party in the

much whether the others were. Whatever the reason, the man holding the camera (probably Jack) did not wait for everyone to be lined up 'correctly'. This is a photograph about getting ready for a photograph, and is part of a sequence (eg .163 and .165)⁷⁰⁹ which charts a wider photographic performance of the by-now familiar construction of solidarity, where it counts most for Joyce.

In .132 (Figure 7),⁷¹⁰ the Ross Sea Party survivors are waiting to be uplifted by the returned *Aurora*. This is another downtime photograph, but this hiatus has a fixed outcome which will spell the end of Joyce's presence in Antarctica and of the heroic era. It shows six men and the three Mt Hope dogs beside a sledge, with Joyce at the lead. The seventh man is presumably behind the camera. This is not a collaborative photograph where all are pictured. It is a photograph of something other than 'the survivors'. Once more, only Joyce is looking at the camera, actively being photographed, and turning the dog he stands alongside (probably Oscar) towards the lens. Again he may have set up the photograph, or asked for it to be taken with his camera, and this shift in creative power emerges as an important element of the rhetoric of the snapshot. The other men may have acted deliberately in not taking part, perhaps sick of being in Joyce's photographs of himself, or they may simply be unaware that the photograph is happening.

Weddell Sea at this time.

⁷⁰⁹ This series would have been likely to include *The South Polar Trail* frontispiece showing Joyce and Oscar but this photograph is not in the collection.

⁷¹⁰ This lantern slide may have been reverse scanned by Canterbury Museum. McElrea and Harrowfield reproduce the image oriented in the other direction, with Joyce at the right. There is nothing unequivocal in the photograph to determine the correct arrangement, and the current scan is based on taking the projection dot location to be the front of the photograph. See McElrea and Harrowfield, *Polar Castaways : The Ross Sea Party (1914-17) of Sir Ernest Shackleton*, between 176 and 77.



Figure 7. Ross Sea Party, six of the survivors awaiting pick up by *Aurora*, January 1917, Joyce at left (possibly reverse scanned), Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.132

Following on from this, .139 (Figure 8) provides another limen mediated by a photographic ritual. Now the Ross Sea Party survivors are back aboard the *Aurora* at the point of transition from ice towards 'home'. This photograph is less formally executed than the returning sledging party (.137), perhaps suggesting a less desperate clinging to convention. All seven survivors are pictured, photographed by someone from the relief ship. Once more, Joyce looks straight at the camera, but only three others follow suit. This photograph also seems to present preparation for a photograph, overridden by a decision to open the shutter early, perhaps at Joyce's request. In this way, his photographs become parasitical on other more careful photographic acts. They are opportunistic, hovering at the edges of the mainstream.



**Figure 8. Ross Sea Party survivors aboard the *Aurora*, January 1917,
Joyce second from right,
Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.139**

The men are cleaned up for the return to civilisation. They are out of sledging clothes and Joyce's canvas trousers, sporting jackets over jumpers – the slightly distorted everyday wear of civilians at sea. They are gradually taking on the habits of 'home' – dressing, smoking, joking, talking, but the transformation of Antarctica experienced is still marked on their bodies in the form of tans, wrinkles and longer hair. In return, they have left parts of themselves in Antarctica, for example the hair and whiskers roughly removed after the Mt Hope journey and, of course, the bodies of the three men who are not returning with them. They also leave footprints, structures, depots and the bodies of dogs. Antarctica has marked the men and they have marked Antarctica. Both transformations may be physically transient but they are sustained and relocated by these photographs and the attitudes that surround them.

In a similar vein, .144 (Figure 9) shows Joyce, Wild, Richards and the three dogs reunited with Shackleton on the *Aurora*. This is a reunion tempered by the shared knowledge of failure and the deaths of three of the shore party. From this, Joyce will salvage the victory of having achieved his end of the bargain and, by his estimation,

the record for the longest-ever sledging journey. The mood of this photograph is subdued. All four men look down at the deck, whether by choice or coincidence, deflecting attention, once again, to the dogs. There is a sense of discomfort and even embarrassment which contrasts markedly to the ease of .140. Perhaps this is due to the difficult news that has recently been shared by both ends of the expedition. Perhaps it simply reflects the awkwardness of reunion or the accident of the photographic moment. However, the men are surely weighing up the realisation that the failure of Shackleton's group even to reach Antarctica has rendered their efforts, and the deaths of three of their colleagues, essentially futile. This is not a joyous moment of reunion, but an expression of anti-climax. It is also the moment where the achievement of duty can no longer be sustained as an uncomplicated virtue. These photographs on the *Aurora* are the chronological end point to Joyce's photographic collection and to his physical presence in Antarctica. Joyce's final photographic construction of Antarctica is an end, a beginning and a transformation.



Figure 9. Group aboard the *Aurora*, L-R Wild, Joyce, Richards, Shackleton, January 1917, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.144

Photography, for Joyce, appears to be a learned behaviour, in the end as much a means of getting himself and his interests in front of a camera, and in front of an audience, as it is about taking photographs of places and events. This is remembrance constructed with a particular future in mind, one in which Joyce is the living embodiment of his photographs, mediating and translating them for chosen audiences. Those audiences will include Joyce himself, as one of the receivers of his photographic self, and the character he finds there will need to live up to his expectations.

Rather than representing something past, Joyce's photographs were as current as he was, always ready to be reactivated in service of his goals. Perhaps, however, he did not think so much about the future these objects would have after his lifetime. Today, the photographs continue to return Joyce to discourses surrounding Antarctic exploration and, in a sense, I am working for Joyce and for them. The difference now, of course, is that Joyce is not here to mediate, and the ideas and meanings that emerge might not be those he intended.

7.3.3 Human will and networks of identification

Most of these photographs are made at close or medium distance. On the surface, as Yusoff has noted, this would appear to be about the need for the photograph to be 'of' something – for it to represent and to identify in an environment where the exploring party and its animals and objects are the predominant familiar forms. Photography makes Antarctica's frightening expanse something you can hold in your hand or hide in an album, and the Antarctica these photographs demonstrate is relatively habitable. However, this domesticity also arises because Antarctica actively excludes photography at other times and places, through its climatic, visual and luminary extremes. These photographs are an expression of the human will that photographs be made in an environment that suggests they should not, and this affirmation may ultimately be of greater force than their picture content. In this way Antarctica

becomes an agent shaping the human performance of photography, as it also shapes the wider performance of exploration.

The combinations of human and Antarctic in these photographs tend to juxtapose rather than align. Humans may be sent from the safety of the group to populate the photograph, and thus Antarctica (eg .17), but often these are not photographs of people so much as indexical evocations of presence. In .17, for example, the unrecognisable human figure is secondary to the act of photography, facilitating rather than determining it. This centralised human figure is upright, attentive to the camera, connected to photographer and viewer, while the seals around him are predominantly horizontal, uninterested and unaware of the acts they are commandeered into. This triangular composition evokes a visual hierarchy in which the 'lower' elements are disinterested. It asserts 'We are dominant', but this is a shaky claim, and the future knows that Antarctica will not be taken as easily as this photograph. The human figure is a temporary insertion against an Antarctica that does not require its presence. In contrast to Joyce's returning Ross Sea Party photographs, .17 presents human and Antarctica as two quite distinct realities, just beginning to engage with each other.

To make the incomprehensible known, it makes sense to fill it with what you know best and Joyce frequently presents Antarctica as workplace, where photographic approximations of sledging, scientific observation (in which observational photography also becomes evidence of work done, eg.129), dog training or butchering meat (.193), give value and shape to presence. Slide .133, for example, is a photograph of a task completed. It shows a Ross Sea Party tent. Camp is made and there is time to think about photography. The photographer (perhaps Joyce) has achieved something, and stepped back to admire and remember his handiwork, leaving his shovel in the snow, and his socks (probably ineffectively) drying on the support rope. The snow at the base of the tent is disturbed by footprints, but the photograph is pithy and uncluttered. This is not a 'ponted' performance of setting camp. There was no need, or no opportunity, to arrange extraneous things and people.

The photographic act is effortless by contrast to the effort involved in erecting this tent in these extreme conditions. The location is unknown. It is not 'the camp' or 'the team in camp' but simply an individualised view of one of the key elements of survival, a pared down representation of a pared down existence which will be reanimated by picture and object in human networks and lifetimes yet to come. To my eye, the tent appears biological, even womb-like, or it recalls a space ship, a pod that spews alien beings onto the Antarctic surface and takes them away again. These 21st century impressions may be an outsider's odd take on things, but the result is the same – the tent stresses otherness, a point of contact and separation between two very different realities.

In .194, work is rendered symbol as men are put into sledging gear and man-hauling harness possibly solely for the purpose of the photograph. Three of the four face the camera, awaiting its click, not the order to begin marching. This is a photograph about the idea of sledging work, but also about form. The men are elements of a scene more than they are individuals. Antarctic presence at this time involved a lot of waiting punctuated by periods of intense activity, and photography may have been one of the things that helped both aspects of Antarctic life to be bearable and more normal. It captures high points and it fills the yawning gaps. This scene presents the photograph as collaborative fiction. All parties know this isn't real sledging. The functional details do not speak the human intent, and the viewer participates in the artifice by suspending disbelief to accept the scene and object as a photograph about sledging when, in fact, it is a photograph about making photographs. If this act of photography does occur in a gap before beginning a sledging journey, it also provides an example of photography's operation at liminal points as a means of allaying fear. By comparison to what is about to happen, a photograph is harmless. It is pictorially and temporally anchored, experientially familiar and, therefore, reassuring.

By extension, work is also inferred through its opposite, leisure. Slide .130, for example, appears to show a 'spello' on a sledging journey, or in preparation for one.

The focus of the composition is the thing around which Joyce constructs his sense of Antarctic, and ultimately personal, worth – a loaded sledge. It is simultaneously his greatest burden and the reason for his exposure to these unsettling events. There are no humans in the photograph. Joyce's sledging team is canine. However, the dogs are unable to take part in the photographic act. They do not face the camera or act in formation. They are not part of 'expeditioning' or 'photography' except by human construction, and Joyce's perceived team becomes an expression of desire.

Antarctic clothing and equipment recall Burke's comments about the symbolic power of uniforms to transform beholder and wearer.⁷¹¹ They generate an 'Antarcticness' which also recalls the 'Italianicity' discerned in Barthes' semiotic reading of advertising photographs.⁷¹² The type and state of the clothing and equipment also recount another narrative, particularly for the Ross Sea Party, where they were in extremely short supply and constantly patched and remade, often by Joyce. At the end of the Mt Hope journey, for example, the men's clothing is tattered and worn, as are they (.137, .156). The rugged shine is gone from their costume of exploration as from the notion of heroism that perhaps sent them to Antarctica, but this is also the point at which Antarctica is most clearly written upon them and where, in the dissolution of their pre-formed narrative, they have become the most icy. Normally, one would expect clothing and appearance to be 'Sunday best' for a photograph. Here the reality is otherwise, the rules of Edwardian civilisation do not apply. Indeed, the intent is that the men look their shabbiest, demonstrating just how bad things got. For the Ross Sea Party there may have been little or no choice of clothing to wear but there was a choice whether or not to make a photograph of it.

Rules of seagoing command as expressed in uniforms are also relaxed on the ice, perhaps allowing men from the 'lower ranks', like Joyce, to feel more comfortable working alongside those who would normally be considered superior. Like the

⁷¹¹ Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, 16.

⁷¹² Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 33.

lingering imprint of Antarctica on the bodies of the Ross Sea Party survivors as they board the *Aurora*, this attitudinal transformation might also adhere, and be expressed in future behaviour. Certainly, Joyce's life would be shaped by relationships, however tenuous, with people and activities he would not otherwise have known, and in Burkean terms, Joyce's possession of these photographs may become an expression of hierarchical manoeuvring in their direction. In his own mind, perhaps Joyce had already become 'Captain Joyce' the 'famous explorer'. What he struggled with (strenuously) was convincing others of this.

Ships also feature, evoking Joyce's Naval identity, ideas of home and rescue, and an element of perceived and semantic femininity. In .97 (Figure 10), a dramatic and famous Hurley photograph, the *Endurance* is imprisoned by ice and illuminated by artificial light. The baroque aestheticism of the construction suspends the real life and death problem facing the men, but it also calls attention to the artifice of the photograph, paradoxically making it more honest about its madeness than are many of the snapshots. Hurley's interest is the visual glamour that will allow his audience to engage with the photograph as pictorial spectacle and will bolster his professional and creative reputation. Hurley was in Antarctica but he was there because of photography, and he intended to be in a lot of other places too. The ice formations in this photograph resemble waves around the ship's bow and a simplistic symbolism of foreboding may be read in the brewing ice sea. However, this is the surface. This is what Barthes became disillusioned with and what Burke aims to overcome. In fact, this photograph may be more about the skill of the photographer, but also about photographs as a means of distraction, self delusion, and perpetually resurrected hope.



Figure 10. Frank Hurley, *Endurance* trapped in ice, 1915, Ernest Joyce collection, 1981.110.97

7.4 Summary

The Joyce collection photographs are about journeys, literal and metaphorical. They are fragmentary, tentative, repetitive and reserved, but also evocative, opportunist and confrontational. They are photographs made personal to Joyce by ownership and enactment, demonstrating a network of association that extends from the highest members of the expeditions to the lower ranks. Running through them is a sense of struggle between Joyce the worker, duty-bound and at one with the ordinary men, and a construction in which he is self-consciously centre stage, associated with the big moments, the ‘real’ heroes and the dramatic events.

Perhaps, on another level, the collection shows Antarctica as an experiential and intellectual gap within which Joyce could begin to entertain a world view outside of the meta-narratives of his childhood. Parts of the collection may have been assembled up to and beyond two decades after the events took place. Joyce had been working on himself by then, and had been disappointed. The photographs are part of a new story

and a new reality, that of Captain Mills Joyce the great explorer, shaped as much by desire as any search for objective truth, and giving rise to a new set of behaviours, including lecturing and writing. In the end, perhaps, Joyce's narrative became so fragmented and so subjective that not even he could believe it fully, but nor could he deny it. This was Joyce's lived experience – a realisation that imagining was a part of knowing and probably at least as saleable as proving. These photographs and his actions around them are unequivocally Joyce's Antarctica – an opportunity to step outside of his earlier world to which he would never return.

My conversation with the Joyce collection confirms Antarctica to be more than a blank canvas to which human ideas are brought. Antarctica shapes the performance of human acts, but also of human attitudes, and this effect may be enacted and intensified over repeat encounters. Joyce visited Antarctica three times and his photographs and words track a transformation named experience and expressed photographically by a growing, but still tentative, prominence of self. It also demonstrates Antarctica, and the behaviours and attitudes formed there, to be portable, able to shape the rest of an individual's life. In Antarctica Joyce became mobile on land as he had already learned to be on the sea, and he took himself out of the anonymity of the lower decks to experiment with leadership and individualised choice. Whether or not this is reflected in the reality of his efforts on the ice, Joyce acted attitudinally in Antarctica to remake himself as Captain Joyce the famous explorer, and the ongoing performance of these photographs was a key device in the manifestation of this rhetoric.

Of course, this does raise the question of whether Joyce was successful in changing or even shaping his fortunes at any level. Certainly, Antarctica helped him to marry well and, although there is no evidence of this, it seems likely that Beatrice's family may have helped the couple materially through the ups and more frequent downs of Joyce's post-Antarctic career. However, if Beatrice's letter in the Joyce papers in the Alexander Turnbull Library is anything to go by, she too was firmly convinced that

she was married to Captain Joyce, and that his deeds and capabilities were of enormous significance.⁷¹³ The fact that accuracy might not be ascendant in this construction in no way hindered the couple's ability to live happily and to engender respect in later generations. Also, the popular papers and the lantern lecture audiences appeared happy to accept Joyce's construction of himself and these events, and not to be overly concerned with details of authenticity. Perhaps they too were eager to buy into the rhetoric of desire and the idea that you can be what you want to be. It was the old school, and the old world view, that apparently did not want him. The humility of Burke's dramatic ironic engagement with the past may provide a means of framing and accepting Joyce's tenacious and energetic performance of the self he felt he might eventually become.

Kelly Tyler-Lewis speculates about a sibling rivalry between Joyce and his elder brother, who pursued a successful Army career, rising to the rank of Major during World War I. She wonders whether this may have been behind some of Joyce's fabulism.⁷¹⁴ This could be the case, but using today's ubiquitous mediator of knowledge, Google, as a filter, Major Joseph Joyce has become entirely invisible to history, while his perhaps wayward and certainly more individualist brother, Ernest, dances on web page after web page, acknowledged for his achievements in Antarctica. Certainly, the events of Joyce's later life would suggest that the opportunities and attitudes he found in Antarctica did not allow him to climb up the old class-based ladders of British society, but they did allow him to find a new way to be as the world reshaped itself in the decades after World War I. Joyce took Antarctica with him into this future and made his own story and his own character for the unending conversation of history.

As Pyne asserts, there may not have been a direct or overt exchange between Antarctica and modernity but as Glasberg has suggested, and Joyce performed, there

⁷¹³ Joyce, "Letter to Robert Falla," folder 21.

⁷¹⁴ Tyler-Lewis, *The Lost Men : The Harrowing Story of Shackleton's Ross Sea Party*, 335.

was the potential, particularly in the creation of photographs, for a modernist, and possibly even a postmodernist, sensibility to arise. In this conversation, I have found Joyce the self promoter, outsider, worker, loyal friend, would-be celebrity, rough-edged enthusiast and even fantasist, but I have also found Joyce the Antarctic Zelig, making himself through the power of being there, and here I have found an axis of Benjaminian modernity, a need to consider the implications of a personal shift from the comfort of the meta-narrative to the bewildering and energy hungry call of the individual. Just as it is uncertain whether Barthes' Winter Garden photograph ever really existed, it does not seem important to know whether or not these things actually reside in the photographs. What is important is that they and the pentad provide a place and a means for thinking - a sky hook by which to harness the impasses of fragmentation, isolation and error.

Joyce demonstrates that photographs need not be about remembering things past but may also be elements of self construction and stories anew. Perhaps the crux of his transformation lies in the distinction established in *The South Polar Trail* between Joyce's group on the return from Mt Hope, and Scott's polar party in their final tent. While the latter resolved to remain where they were and submit to the imminence of death, Joyce and his colleagues would keep marching and, if necessary, die in harness.⁷¹⁵ In this grand and sweeping analogy, there is the kernel of a desire to find one's own destiny, outside of the preordained paths of entrenched narratives. There is also a grim determination and a dogged tenacity in this resolution which shapes Joyce's efforts to enact this attitudinal shift in his later life. Remnants of these efforts endure in his words and photographs in a world which, only in very recent years, has thought its way to an acceptance of subjectivity and desire as valid forms of meaning, and even, as Margaret Olin has argued, to an interpretive potential in error and misrepresentation. Like picture content versus the fact a photograph is made, perhaps what Joyce actually did in Antarctica is not as important as the fact that it was done,

⁷¹⁵ Joyce, *The South Polar Trail: The Log of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition*, 154.

and that it led him and all those who consider his experiences into new and challenging attitudinal territories.

Building on Spufford's construction, as much as these events are about heroism, Empire, exploration and all of the reactions these words conjure over time, they are also about individuals who confront themselves on Pyne's imperfect mirror and take those reflections along with them to their subsequent lives in their minds and bodies and in the glass panes of their photographic negatives. At the end and the beginning of it all, for Joyce, as for Scott's party in their final tent, there were photographs waiting to be developed.

8 Conclusion

8.1 *Thinking with photographs reviewed*

This thesis has argued that photographs are enigmatic and intense sites of human value making and exchange, outlining a discourse that suggests they have fundamentally altered human perception and behaviour and must be approached in complex situational, emotional and intellectual terms. However, in considered enquiry photographs are still commonly relegated to the role of illustration, or simply ignored as too unremarkable or too lacking in semantic or pictorial resolution.

In response to this dislocation I have drawn Kenneth Burke's pentad of dramatic analysis into the photographic discourse, and in so doing have created a model for centralising photographs in enquiry that is both accessible and portable. The surface simplicity of the pentad's five elements provides an analytical starting point that is able to be enacted at a level appropriate to the tenor of each photographic encounter, and offers the opportunity to modulate the complexity of critical thought by shaping the parameters of a pre-determined and self aware inquisitorial and contextualizing narrative.

My pentad model brings together the threads of a wide-ranging discussion focusing around Elizabeth Edwards' notion of using photographs to think with, an approach that I have argued provides an inspiring but complex theoretical landscape that is at least as much a summary of the contemporary mood in photographic thinking as it is an enactable methodology. I also draw into my model two additional aspects of the operation of photographs – their collectivity, and their unique and enduring material forms.

In seeking to activate this fuller thinking with photographs, I found in Burke a performative underpinning and an emphasis on networks of identification that aligned well with the construction of photographs presented by Edwards and other writers. I

also found a particularly productive fit with Burke's objective of meditating the culturalised and the individual, an approach that recalls a key binary operative throughout photographic discourse and famously described by Roland Barthes as the *studium* and the *punctum*.

Burke's pentad provides a means of activating these two photographic modalities within a generative framework that also makes room for the varied and durational acts involved with making, keeping and valuing photographs. The elements of the pentad and the ratios that emerge from them deal in the *studium* detail of rhetorical analysis and cultural transmission, but they do so with the aim of revealing an instinctive insight that is before and beyond the socially constructed, in the spirit of the *punctum*.

The current exercise gave rise to several observations on the nature of the *punctum* which may aid in its further deployment in thinking with photographs. My overt enactment of this modality, for example, was as a means of selection. However, this invocation may strain the performance of the *punctum* since it would hardly be acceptable in a thesis such as this to say that no photograph generated a suitable response, and to walk away. While this might be possible in other situations, it must be recognised that here it was necessary to find a group of photographs to work with, so that the selective *punctum* was evoked in an operational rather than strictly emotive form.

It is also noteworthy that in applying the pentad to Joyce's photographs, the recording of picture content, maker, date, size etc became formulaic and unchallenging, across the collection as a whole and within the selected subset. As Barthes suggested, even the photographs that provided a special spark for me upon initial approach were rendered prosaic and primarily functional when engaging with them at the level of conscious consideration. And, as Barthes, Burke and more recent writers have also suggested, this data is not the revelation, but the time taken for its iteration and comparison provides a space to think, and it is here that unexpected insights emerge,

reinstating the element of surprise and suggesting that the *punctum* may not necessarily be limited to initial attraction but may arise again, transformed by the action of time and conscious thought. Writing the insight of this transcendent response necessarily returns it to the *studium*, but around this process new and unexpected insights may emerge once more, and here Barthes' *punctum* and *studium* meet Burke's unending conversation, in an exploration that involves physicality and emotion as well as words and pictures, and expresses the possibility for the coexistence of subjective and culturalised insight within a single enquiry.

This generative *punctum* also recalls the *puncta* born of memory images in *Camera Lucida*. Working with the pentad confirms that thinking with photographs necessarily involves thinking with memory images. It is necessary to return repeatedly to the photograph or photographs under consideration, but at some point the act of thinking and relating them becomes an act of thinking with a fragment of memory, and here desire and imagining necessarily enter the process. Thinking with photographs therefore also involves thinking about the thinker, and Burke's model successfully absorbs this potentially frustrating paradox by requiring that the enquirer define the terms and scope of the encounter overtly and in advance.

Like Benjamin, the pentad does not seek to prove, only to show, and particularly to make recognisable a constellation of ideas, expressions and values. It facilitates the close consideration of gestural, pictorial, associative and material rhetorics, but it also facilitates new imaginings beyond the overt detail of the symbol exchange, and its ability to name and keep hold of the diverse players involved in the 'doing' of photographs over time and place provides a conceptually simple but ideationally challenging mode of acknowledging the interplay of the generalised and the particular, the detail and the whole, the culturalised and the subjective, that are so much part of what photographs do, and of what is done with, and because of, them.

The use of two pentads overtly traced this closeness and generalisation, enabling me to consider the interplay of photographs as individual entities and as part of a complex collective. I was also able to refer within and across the analyses using Burke's ratios and the mediating emphasis on the shared characteristics of the photographs' material forms. However, like Edwards' spatialities, this is only one approach and the components of the methodology are easily reconfigured in an enquiry with a different objective. The pentad is not a taxonomic system producing a right way to describe the various things that photographs can do. Its elements are open to revision every time the process is enacted, allowing for shifting meanings, changing values and personal priorities.

The pentadic approach selects and excludes but this is necessary amid the dense pictorial and physical detail of photographs. The Joyce collection (at 223 photographs) is not a particularly large group in photographic terms, but the observations produced stretched to at least as many pages of text, making it necessary, in the interest of manageability, to exclude from the final discussion a number of possible lines of thinking. Thinking pentadically with photographs is a process of winnowing and focussing as well as one of reaching out. It resembles Benjamin's excavation analogy, sifting through fields of detail to find the most productive points of connection and moments of insight. It also highlights and endorses the crafted nature of thinking, itself a work often invisible in the conventional presentation of findings.

And, of course, it is impossible to say or think everything about everything, and what I choose to consider is simply one contribution to the conversation of history. In this way, the pentadic approach knowingly activates photographs as sites for negotiation rather than definition. Another selection of photographs might produce a different reading, or it might not. My discussion of the individual photographs resonates with that of the collective, confirming that the enquirer and the act of thinking have a greater generative power than the detail of the photograph, and suggesting that a

different selection would be unlikely to produce significantly different thinking for me at this time and this place.

The pentad could operate across much bigger photographic collectives, but the terms of the enquiry would need to be set at a more generalised or more specific level in order to make this thinking humanly possible. This might impact upon the kinds of questions that could be thought with very large groups of photographs, but the alternative would be a technologised statistical sorting of the data which would remove the element of human thought so fundamental to Burke's approach. In order for the pentad to remain a human tool, it is necessary to continue to progress the modes of enacting its elements and ratios, rather than turning to technological data management.

In seeking an enactment of the pentad that would meet the needs of a photographic thinking, I configured the collective as the scene against which the photographs operate, providing a more complex understanding of this element than one situated in a particular place or time. This approach proved beneficial to an enquiry based in a concern with the operation of photographs, since this takes place across places and across times but always within a ground that is defined by their being photographs and, in this case, part of a certain photographic collective. My enactment of the photographic object as the agency of its operation also provided an important point of transition between the individual photograph and the collective, pointing out from the picture to trajectories of association, manufacture and travel.

Emphasising the photograph as object provided a means of overcoming depictional or creative anonymity by providing an initial and common point of engagement, and balancing these traditionally paramount mediators of photographic meaning as but two voices within a wider conversation of actions and plasticities. Addressing the photograph first and foremost as what it is situates it within a network of human actions that revivifies both silent picture and haptic object. However, thinking with

the objects was more challenging than thinking with the pictures, the latter being a more familiar and semantically better established mode of approaching photographs. Recent writing, and the current exercise, have suggested that what photographs depict may not be as important as what is done with them, so that in order to think roundly with photographs it becomes necessary to forget some of what we have learned them to be, or at least to admit that the notion of pictorial supremacy is itself part of the value set we bring to the photographic interaction.

Thinking with photographic objects remains a relatively new skill that needs to be emphasised and better articulated in order for its presence to become routinely part of the way photographs are approached. But photographs are also pictures and in making the shift to think materially about the objects, I found it easy to lose sight of their pictorial operation, and *vice versa*. However, the recording and balancing abilities of the pentad and the ratios, and the emphasis on material agency as a shared and transitional characteristic of the photographs, ultimately enabled me to hold picture and object together. This dual approach provides a revised foundation for thinking with photographs, and a refreshed construction of Burke's pentadic agency, in keeping with recent thinking about the operation of his model in a technologised world. It also ensures that thinking with photographs remains open to all photographs, drawing the anonymous and the unremarkable into photography's story, while still keeping them available for other discourses and other points of view.

The photograph as object is currently undergoing a metamorphosis at the hands of its rearticulation by digital technologies. For Benjamin, in particular, the photograph was something new, fast and momentary. Today the conventional photograph is slow and durational, quiet and contemplative by comparison to the rapidity and proliferation of the digital age. It also offers a straight-forward tactile materiality of paper, glass and film that is not a necessary characteristic of the digital photograph. In order for thinking with photographs to look into the digital age, I believe it will be necessary to re-evaluate the notion of the object, and looking back to the genesis of

the awareness of the unique and material photographic encounter may provide a starting point for the configuration of the digital object. Just as Holmes' prediction of the photographic separation of form from substance has not played out in today's enduringly emotive encounters with photographs, it may be that the digital photograph also persists as something other than a dispassionate and endlessly reconfigurable assemblage of pixels.

It seems plain to anybody familiar with historic photographs today that an original collodion negative, a vintage print, an early twentieth century copy negative and a crisp gelatin print made from that in the 1960s, are all very different objects with very different experiential connotations, even though they present the same picture. A century from now a similar genealogy will be discernable for whatever body of digital original photographs survives, and alongside this, and the wider digital heritage, there will necessarily have been a shift in the understanding of 'objectness', away from a dominating physicality towards something that already exists, unnamed, in the perceptual Erewhon of the digital object. The challenge for the coming decades is to think this object into conscious existence.

Current thinking suggests that the importance of digital photographs will lie not so much in their pictorial information as in understandings of the ways they impact upon modes of address and identification. Thus, digital photographs will maintain an essence of unique and manifest encounter, but this will take place around an object that exists, at least in some forms, as something that cannot be touched. Naming the physical and emotional experience of an object that does not present in place or time, except by the intervention of another technology, doubles the still tall order of thinking with photographs, turning the material back to the ethereal while demanding that its individuality be addressed. A progressive working and reworking of the elements of the pentad and its ratios may provide a ground for considering the experiential elements at play in interactions with digital objects, and give rise to a

configuration that names their particular operation just as it can support the search for a means of thinking with chemical photographs.

The current exercise has also confirmed that thinking with photographs is part of a wider perceptual undertaking that continues to involve thinking with words. The relationship between photographs and words remains important both in terms of discursive enactment and broader understanding, and the thinking done with Joyce's photographs effectively confirms the ideas set up in the contextual discussion. In this way, it demonstrates that thinking with photographs need not challenge or negate thinking done with words, and also, of course, that the enquirer tends to find what he or she is looking for.

The particularities of the semantic context necessarily and overtly influenced the attitudes I brought to Joyce's photographs, most notably by increasing the element of scepticism due to the exaggerations and misrepresentations attributed to Joyce by his contemporaries. However, placing his photographs at the centre of the enquiry involved a set of triggers and points of entry that were quite different to those offered by the words uttered by and about him. For example, the photographs involve a closeness to Joyce that is visual and haptic, and more poignant than interactions even with words written in his own hand. They amplify and make tangible a number of impressions gained more indirectly in the semantic consideration, such as his involvement with animals, particularly dogs, his strident approach to work, his points of identification across all levels of the expeditions, and his particular emphasis on the Ross Sea Party. Thinking with the photographs emphasises the intensely episodic and fragmentary nature of Joyce's Antarctica, whereas words often tend to smooth over the gaps and stretch out to relate a 'complete' story. The photographs also stress that this Antarctica is not Joyce's alone and that its rhetorical and imaginative potential is not defined at the moment of inception. Thinking with Joyce's photographs offers additional insights to the thinking done with words, but in a complementary and broadening manner rather than an adversarial one.

While thinking with photographs need not and cannot exclude thinking with words, it may alter the way this is done. Words are traditionally involved with naming and knowing, with a great taxonomic undertaking by which the world is described and defined as a contribution to some lexical and experiential whole, broadly speaking, history written in Benjamin's nineteenth century mode. Thinking with photographs, on the other hand, makes room for the unknown and the incorrect, and seeks a shifting synecdochic representation rather than a fixed and complete outcome. As Benjamin suggested, this is a perceptual mode that, once accepted, readily leaks out to become a more generalised photographic thinking that informs other areas of enquiry. As well as admitting error and desire to the repertoire of acceptable points of engagement, thinking photographically requires that human beings stand away from the comfort of resolution and take responsibility for their own generative rhetorical power in a fragmented and at least partially subjective world. While thinking with photographs may not be the only route to this perceptual watershed, it demonstrates that the relationship between photographs and words is no longer a case of one proving or disproving the other, but of a contestable vying to be heard.

Another challenge with the pentadic thinking of photographs is that the noting of data under the pentad headings requires an early shift from picture and object to word. It is necessary to return repeatedly to the photographs in order for the exercise to remain about them rather than slipping into the more familiar comfort of thinking primarily with words about photographs. This sustained focus on picture and object also suggests a possible role for the pentad in considering the rhetorical operation of other kinds of objects. I did not look closely at the sundial and compass or the storage boxes in the Joyce collection, but the pentadic approach might well be able to look across such mixed collectives, the challenge being the incorporation of objects that do not have an overt graphic or textual 'message'.

Despite its common subject focus, the Joyce collection provides as complex and challenging a photographic collective as is likely to be encountered. Its picture content ranges from aesthetic, professional and famous views to impenetrable and poorly processed snapshots. Some events are well known, others almost completely anonymous. The objects are difficult to hold and to view, and there is no overt single narrative or creative intent. However, by establishing a discursive context and configuring a pentadic framework around which picture and object may operate, the conscious act of thinking the elements of the rhetorical behaviour they involve gradually gives way to other insights.

For all the complexity of the ideas generated, the pentad and the processes around it remain simple and portable, able to be applied to almost any conceivable photographic entity. The pentad is not *the* answer, necessarily right in every circumstance, nor is it an answer-producing machine. It is an enactment of thinking that sits well with photographs because it is based in the ubiquitous rhetoric of doing. It is able to perform in the close consideration of an individual photograph and in a broad view of photographic collectives. It is generative rather than definitive, and able to manage complex detail while maintaining a view beyond statistical outcomes. It is cognizant of the place of the thinker and the acts of thinking and naming in shaping outcomes. It looks within the photograph and out to the wider networks in which it operates and, importantly, it can hold in balance the duality of the photographic object and picture, a perceptual binary that is difficult to sustain. The pentad is one way of thinking with photographs that allows a range of interests to be held in balance without forcing them to dominate the exercise of thinking itself. It provides a new way of activating photographs, and the voices, bodies and minds that surround them, in considering human interaction.

The flexibility of Burke's model has led to its use in a wide range of rhetorical situations and, as I have demonstrated, to these may now be added thinking with photographs. In arguing the resonances between Burke's thinking and that of

Benjamin and Barthes, I have established sufficient congruity to draw Burke into the discussion of photography. What he adds to this discussion is a starting point that is specifically multi-modal, and is able to approach photographs as enduring, and often profuse, collectives rather than inspirational exemplars operating broadly in the style of engagement established by the modernist paradigm in the visual arts. In practice, the pentad may find its most valuable academic application to photographs in settings such as the current one, where methodological and theoretical scrutiny are requisites of doctoral research.

The pentad allows barriers of anonymity and banality to be transcended through the framing of novel points of entry, and may, therefore, also be of value to museums in animating collections of photographs (and potentially other objects) where traditional connoisseurial triggers are either absent or irrelevant. As a superficially simple device, the pentad might also be offered to museum audiences as a platform on which to build their own encounters, particularly with overtly anonymous photographs, while its significant theoretical underpinning provides a means of introducing more complex ideas to these audiences, serving a similar bridging function in arts and cultural thinking to that espoused by the emerging field of science communication.

8.2 *The margins revived*

This thesis has traversed many margins, pictorial, ideological, geographical, tactile and intellectual. I began, for example, with the proposition that photographs are traditionally pushed to the extremities of considered enquiry, and sought to rehabilitate them into their own history and into the wider history of human interaction. I dealt with a group of photographs that includes the traditionally marginalised photographic snapshot, and is made up of materially and visually marginal photographic forms (negatives and lantern slides). However, this marginalisation was complicated by the particular collective under consideration since it mixes the mainstream photographs of, for example, Frank Hurley, with anonymous

snapshots, and has travelled from individual ownership to public construction within a museum at the core of shaping and transmitting the narratives of Antarctic exploration across generations. In these complexities, I have activated the margin as a site of restless association rather than a static destination, rendering it transformational as well as exclusive.

I have also dealt with a marginalised figure in a century-old discourse, using photographs as a means of reconsidering the Antarctic experiences of Ernest Joyce, and finding the seeds of the dissolution of the heroic narrative in his lived experience during the turbulent early decades of the twentieth century. I considered photographically depicted margins, including Antarctic settings, and points of extremity and slippage within that region. I also dealt with attitudinal margins, as established world views were challenged even as they were enacted in the reflexive depiction and reconstruction of self around the photographic performance of Antarctic exploration. Here, too, thinking with photographs, and thinking photographically about Antarctic exploration, demonstrated these margins to be sites of transition, not so much departures from some notional centre to which they might later be rehabilitated, as anchoring points, often solemnised or even parodied through the enactment of rituals that include public value displays staged specifically for cameras.

Photographically thought margins become points of convergence rather than borders of dissipation, and sites of generative potential rather than anonymous silences. Indeed, the photographically thought margin (the realisation of the potential for many meanings to push aside the illusory veneer of the right answer) may be the very stuff of thinking with photographs, and another portal through which thinking photographically may populate other areas of enquiry. In this way, thinking with photographs at the margins of Antarctic exploration has the potential to explode the heroic-era myth, even as it facilitates its transmission through the smooth re-enactment of the picture plane, because it makes the impossible stasis of the fixed answer the sidelined other to a desire to engage with lived experience.

Thinking with photographs demonstrates that marginality is no longer a straight insider/outsider split, but may be more appropriately viewed as a particular transitionality, expressing, driving and challenging elements of the human networks within which it occurs. And, at the end of all of this, Burke's dramatic ironic engagement with the past arises to challenge the thinker to act with humility and in the realisation that his or her acts are just as prone to the dissolution of error and critique as any that have gone before.

8.3 *Antarctic exploration revised*

As Edwards argued, understandings of the place in which a photograph is made will inform its journeys. Thus, there is a kernel of the biography of the object contained in the moment of its creation. While Edwards strove to return intellectually to that point of inception, and to think the Acland photographs within her construction of British colonial activities in the Pacific during the 1880s, my approach has been more durational, situating a group of photographs alongside a series of evolving discussions, and seeking the perspectives that a specifically photographic thinking might contribute.

I have demonstrated that thinking about Antarctic exploration has been typified by thinking in terms of expeditions and expedition leaders, particularly Scott and the *Terra Nova* and Shackleton and the *Endurance*. Complementing this is another binary whereby Ponting and Hurley, and the notion of photographs as authored pictures, continue to dominate the construction of photography during these events. However, recent thinking about heroic-era Antarctica has sought new ways to engage with the experiences it involves. Of particular interest have been the notions of imagining, performing, marking and transformation, and the ways these tropes are enacted and traced in the doing of Antarctic exploration. Photographs have been brought into this discussion but still almost exclusively as the pictures of the two

‘master’ photographers, and within external paradigms, most notably geography. By centralising a diverse group of photographs from the period within the context of a specifically photographic discourse, I have demonstrated that Antarctic exploration and the photographs it involves are layered and contestable, and that this very seeding of diversity is one of the key attitudinal challenges posed by Antarctic exploration, at least for one of its participants.

Joyce, meanwhile, has been most frequently constructed as a Royal Navy seaman with aspirations beyond his place in life, prone to flights of fancy and exaggeration, but a staunch and hard worker and a loyal friend; on the one hand bound by a sense of duty and Naval discipline, and on the other a flamboyant individualist. I have not attempted to resolve this paradox but have considered it in play in and around his photographs and sought to suggest some reasons why this impression may have arisen, primary among which is a sense of tension predicated upon these unresolved attitudinal shifts, seeded in Joyce’s Antarctic activities and expressed in his attempts to reinvent himself during his later life.

In this thesis I have developed a novel methodology for thinking with photographs using Burke’s pentad, and have enacted this and the Joyce collection to provide another perspective on heroic-era Antarctica, thought around the experiences of one individual. Joyce’s Antarctica is not dominated by a single expedition, but is a layering of experience and attitude played out in response to repeat encounters with himself outside of familiar structures and expectations, on the Antarctic ice. It demonstrates that the episodic frame of the exploratory expedition was, in some cases, transitional and cumulative rather than terminal, and also that there were many photographs in Antarctica, reflecting an emerging multiplicity of motivation and generative power within which desire and imagining become valid, and perhaps even necessary, modes of being. It also shows that photographs are more than pictures. They are things made, pictorially, chemically, materially and presentationally, and they are tokens of aspiration, association and shared experience that reach across

generations. Photographic skills and confidence also become markers of iciness, portable, like the pictures, to later lives and beyond.

Joyce's photographs show that Antarctic exploration took individuals out of the comfort of established orders to ask something special of them, and in so doing raised in their minds the expectation that something special might be offered in return. However, there was nothing, save the tenacity of the individual, waiting to balance the other side of the equation on their return to 'civilisation'. The choice was to accept their Antarctic experience as an odd sojourn from everyday life, a kind of fantasy world where they could become characters in their own boys' adventure stories and Robert Service poems, or to try to bring the iciness back with them and to look for another way of being in line with their reshaped attitudes and bodies.

Joyce, I believe, took the latter option. But, beyond the controversial award of the Albert Medal, the old school was not really interested, and the heroic exploration narrative to which he overtly clung was itself running close to its expiry date as an uncomplicatedly positive enactment. It was the new world of mass communication and public spectacle that, apparently, accepted Joyce, fuelled, perhaps, by its own desire to believe that such transformations were possible, and that they might even rub off.

Joyce found a promise in Antarctica that through his own will and cunning he might become something else, but as Hardfist Jemsen found that people seldom kept their promises, so Joyce returned to a world that was ill equipped to deliver on his expectations, at least within the mindsets and hierarchies that he departed from. Undeterred, Joyce persevered in seeking the attitudinal rewards and new status he felt he was due, and his photographs are both an expression of and a means towards these ends. But just as a photograph of oneself seldom measures up to the expectations placed upon it, the self Joyce made in the image of the images appears not to have brought about the notoriety he would have wished for, at least on a public level and

during his lifetime. He did, however, live up to his undertaking to die in harness, although this was the harness of self promotion rather than the man-hauled sledge that first stirred the intent.

The developers of the future can see this more complex and durational network in operation, and they can also bring to bear a dramatic ironic engagement with Joyce's story by which he becomes a figure caught up in a shifting understanding of self and identity, at a time when linear narratives and fixed answers were beginning to give way to shifting perspectives and individual imaginings. In this construction it need not be so much that a life is lived towards some particular outcome, or measured against the success or failure of some particular persuasive agenda. Rather, like a photograph, the simple and complex reality that it is done becomes the most productive anchoring point. Joyce was surely not the only person, and Antarctica not the only experience that generated this potential, and photographs left by people in all sorts of circumstances (war, family, travel, business) may provide similar sites for considering their particular engagements with the values of their times.

Photography in heroic-era Antarctica is not about two masters, or official photographers, or at least not only these, and as there are many photographs, so there are many Antarcticas, all united by a conservatism inherent in the enactment of photography and the transmission of culture, but also all prodded by the disquieting toll of individualism and subjectivity. Joyce's photographs show that Antarctica can be something other than a sublime natural wonder, a site for masculinist imperialism, or a vast outdoor laboratory. It can also be a setting, both physical and metaphorical, within which individuals rework their understandings of themselves and the worlds they inhabit. The reflexive and pared-down existence of heroic-era Antarctica, particularly for the Ross Sea Party, intensifies this encounter with a heroic narrative turned in on itself just as it reaches the margins of its own aspirational relevance.

8.4 *Summary*

To return to my representative anecdote by way of final summary, it is clear that the pentad provides a new means of thinking with photographs. With its help I have been able to harness the spirit and direction of Edwards' work, and the generations of thought that underpin her intent, as well as incorporating the photographic collective and the photographic object, and I have done this within a framework that is easily nameable and transportable.

I have also been able to activate the Joyce collection, including its anonymous, dull, damaged and visually awkward photographs, as sites for negotiating meaning around participation in heroic-era Antarctica, and I did this precisely by activating its rhetorical imaginings. That is, by entering into a transcendent and generative thinking based on a close consideration of the rhetorical behaviours anchored by the photographs, but not wholly located within them. Putting aside the generalised rhetorics of empire, heroism and exploration, I found Joyce's individual rhetorical enactment of these photographs to centre around a persuasive narrative of collectivity and duty, where work, effort and group demonstrations of achievement overtly signify a collegial satisfaction at the performance of allotted tasks in the face of considerable odds.

However, in elements such as the often peripheral and less than comfortable positioning of Joyce within the photographs, the lack of other human participants in many of them, the ready appearance of sites for enacting cathartic tropes, the awkwardness of the Ross Sea Party reunion with Shackleton, the numerical and self-representational emphasis on this final episode, and even in Joyce's apparent failure to return some of the photographs loaned to him, I found the seeds of the dissolution of this boys' adventure story narrative in favour of a growing but restless sense of self and a desire for individual recognition. In this construction, the photographs become devices by which Joyce tenaciously and single-mindedly argues his own story, in

which he is Captain Mills Joyce the famous explorer, not ex-Petty Officer Ernie Joyce, the Navy orphan.

The origins of Joyce's photographs may lie in the same Victorian and Edwardian narratives of empire and exploration that sent him to Antarctica, but their enactment involved another time and another Joyce, one whose attitudes and expectations had been altered by Antarctic exploration. This Joyce had learned that the fulfilment of duty was not in and of itself an uncomplicated or sufficiently rewarding virtue, and had, perhaps, arrived at the conclusion that, at the end of the day, his best bet was to rely on himself. Here, of course, I enter the realm of rhetorical imagining – a generative and speculative thinking based on a constellation of visual, material and contextual rhetorics.

This is also the first point of transcendent insight in my thinking of the Joyce collection. I had entered into the exercise anticipating that I would think something about Ernest Joyce and Antarctica, and how the two interact around the making and using of photographs, but I was troubled by the need to address the apparently blatant inaccuracies in Joyce's presentation of himself and his tenacious drive for self promotion. By thinking, aligning and realigning his photographs, I gradually came to see his actions as an assertion of individual will, like the photograph itself in Antarctica's prohibitive climate, which sustained him in his attempts, with the resources and opportunities he could muster, to write his own outcome rather than remain embedded in the pre-ordained destinies of his youth.

A second level of transformative thought also emerged from the pentad and took me more by surprise. This is how neatly the construction came to fit with the bigger issues of fragmentation, experience, emotion and subjectivity that populate the thesis throughout. I found a site for modernity and even postmodernity in heroic-era Antarctica, and I found in Antarctic exploration the previously photographic realisation that content may not, in the end, be as important as what is performed

around it. All of which, of course, may simply go to show just how right Burke was in arguing that the outcome of an enquiry is its beginning made clear, or, to follow Barthes' lead once more, that you find in photographs pretty much exactly what you are looking for.

My pentadic thinking of the Joyce collection has confirmed that it is not the formulaic and predictable elements of picture symbolism that provide the greatest insight. Indeed, if, as Edwards suggests, the photographic frame intensifies the theatricality of its gestural and situational rhetoric, the pentad provides the means of breaking that frame and bringing the photographic picture, object and collective into the here and now of the perceiver.

This thesis offers a first footfall in a new enactment of the pentad and the thinking of photographs. It stands successfully as a synecdochic outcome, indicating considerable potential for further testing and refinement of the methodology in diverse photographic encounters. Linda Nochlin may well have been right in saying that there is nothing more difficult to write about intelligently than photography, but it is hoped that the current exercise will make thinking with photographs just a little bit easier.

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10 Appendix A: Main British-led expeditions of the heroic era of Antarctic exploration

Seagoing expeditions are typically given an official title which connotes elements of sponsorship and patronage, as well as overt, usually nationalistic, intent. However, they are also frequently referred to by the ‘shorthand’ version of the names of their ships, particularly by participants and others closely involved, both during the expedition and in later years.

My early acquaintanceship with Antarctic exploration has taken the latter, more vernacular, form and throughout the thesis I typically refer to the expeditions by their ship names, or the other common convention of ‘the Ross Sea Party’ for Joyce’s final expedition.

For ease of clarification and cross-reference, this Appendix sets out the vernacular and official titles for the relevant British-led expeditions, as well as their operative years and the names of the expedition leaders.

Ship	Official Title	Years	Leader
<i>Discovery</i>	British National Antarctic Expedition	1901-04	Robert Scott
<i>Nimrod</i>	British Antarctic Expedition	1907-09	Ernest Shackleton
<i>Terra Nova</i>	British Antarctic Expedition 1910	1910-13	Robert Scott
<i>Endurance</i> (Weddell Sea Party)	Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition	1914-16	Ernest Shackleton
<i>Aurora</i> (Ross Sea Party)	Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition	1914-17	Ernest Shackleton/ Aeneus Mackintosh

11 Appendix B: Pentad data: two examples from the individual photograph analyses

This pentadic exercise involved considering the operation of a set of previously nominated characteristics around the 223 photographs in the Joyce collection, and the 42 selected from the group for closer attention. Two related enquiries were carried out, one for the collective, the other for the selected photographs. The elements of each are outlined in Table 2 and Table 3 respectively.

The resulting data effectively constitutes a tabulation of reaction and response, as well as more considered thought and elements of factual clarification obtained from other sources. Over time, it also begins to suggest patterns and to notice omissions, and these elements feed into the ratio considerations subsequently carried out.

As the pentad has not previously been applied to photographs, and has not been enacted in exactly this way before, this Appendix sets out two examples from the individual photograph analyses in order to give a sense of the kinds of ideas and insights that emerged as the foundation for the thinking presented in chapter seven. It also provides an indication of the relatively unconstrained operation of the pentad, making room for suggestion and speculation, as well as the recording of observed detail.

The full set of this data is available from the author.

No.	Pentad element		
.2	Act Persuading through a photograph		Posing of people – accidental grouping or contrived? Arranging boxes? Or found? Adjacency of hut Car Definite construction but photographer at a distance, approx half of men looking at him – too far away to shout “cheese” in conditions? Didn’t want to? Man at left looks back towards group and hut – reinforces focus of construction and creates a kind of enclosure, cyclical visuality Somewhere between intimate and detached – closer to former

No.	Pentad element		
			<p>Don't know how much photographer constructed/intervened in scene but seems likely</p> <p>Outside hut but 'clinging' to it – like nervous small-town tourists in a big city (although the opposite...)</p> <p>Visual impact is men and boxes, but hut dominates the frame</p> <p>Caught as if causally going about business but really stopped to mark something</p> <p>Snow melting, men outside, car out – start of sledging 1908</p> <p>Casual, relaxed, waking up, almost sleepy, dreamy detachment</p> <p>Text on box at front left – difficult to read but with digital scan includes word Shackleton; is the only textual pointer – reinforces presence (Shackleton is second from left)</p> <p>Enough light to photograph</p> <p>Wearing sledging uniforms? – 5 men</p> <p>First party out = Northern (S Magnetic Pole) David, Mackay, Mawson</p> <p>Southern party = four men Wild, Shackleton, Marshall, Adams</p> <p>Western party - below</p> <p>Car – failure – ended up in the sea</p> <p>Boxes – along front right = fire protection, others left from storm upon arrival Feb 08 (Riffenburgh photo captions)</p> <p>Men and boxes = weaving, meandering line to hut – umbilical cord...</p>

No.	Pentad element		
			Outside – as are most photos – light levels etc
.2	Scene The Joyce collection photographs at Canterbury Museum		Half plate negative – one of 20 (73 total negs) <i>Nimrod</i> expedition – one of 74 (as identified by Museum at least) Possibly ‘borrowed’ from Brocklehurst and not returned? – Uses a few <i>Nimrod</i> photos in book Negative is for reproduction but not in South Polar Trail? No prints in collection at all – may be part of the reason it was given away by family – less ‘personal’, less usable – similar re lantern slides Negatives seen by Museum as more valuable, rarer, so printed and made publicly accessible early
.2	Agent Photographer		At least nine men took photos, most D&P by Brocklehurst and Mawson (Beau Riffenburgh [BR] 184) 16 in shore party in total. Shackleton says 12 took photos. Unknown, possibly Brocklehurst ie youngest expedition member (20), Old Etonian, at Cambridge, social acquaintance of Shackleton, met while in London for boxing 1906; very wealthy family, donated 2000 pounds to expedition and in return given place on shore party (as did Oates and Cherry-Garrard on TN – BR 128)), Shackleton best man at his wedding 1913 (BR 127); didn’t finish degree (more interest in Yeomanry commission) Shack: learn practical surveying and field course in geology (Assistant Geologist) – usefulness different though – rescued Shackleton (BR 128); army career and estate after expedition, died 1975, funeral “almost a state affair”; Amputated toe later recovered and kept in a jar (BR 184) Part of Erebus attempts, Western Party

No.	Pentad element		
			BR 181 Brocklehurst quote re first wash in months = all seem to delight in this – naughty boys
	Target	Men	Five men, unidentified Shackleton second from left – ‘typical’ stance – consciously performing being photographed No Joyce?
		Hut	Built for expedition, facing NW (front shown here) – sheet ice in front “Green Park” – ponies, football and hockey (BR 81) Double doors = entrance Orderly boxes at right = fire insulation Messy ones dumped during initial blizzard? Just left where easy to see and access? Left of door = car garage, in front of that latrine Sleeping compartments inside personalised – Joyce and Wild ‘Rogues’ Retreat’ – sign painted by Marston above entrance = 2 “rough customers” drinking beer from pint mugs (BR 183)
		Boxes	Above
		Land	Slope up past hut leads to sea ice and Hut Point Snow beginning to melt – early in season
		Car	Pulled out from garage for start of season Failure, ended up in the sea?
	Me		Arrangement of men and boxes, controlled sense of casual disorder,

No.	Pentad element		
			<p>about object/image whakapapa</p> <p>Standard commercial (probably gelatine) Dry plate negative No inscriptions</p>
.2	<p>Purpose</p> <p>That has been</p>		<p>Car and men and hut and supplies were present in Antarctica</p> <p>The men and the car were able to leave the hut and were prepared to begin sledging</p>

.140	<p>Act</p> <p>Persuading through a photograph</p>		<p>Being outdoors with the dogs on a sunny day – dogs as ‘pets’/companions – photography arose out of that? Now participating in act of photography – a dogs with each man, lined up for camera, Joyce looking straight at it – but this appears incidental to wider act of relaxing, enjoying the sun, recovering, recuperating, basking – sun and ‘glory’ of work having been done and having survived to be photographed.... (cf Spencer-Smith, Mackintosh and Hayward, can’t be photographed again – other photo where there is a gap for Spencer-Smith = reincorporation of the scapegoat into the group)</p> <p>After the return from the big Ross Sea Party sledging journey</p> <p>At the end of the expedition in theory but whole chronology/programme is subverted by ship having disappeared and Shackleton not having arrived. This should be the end, but it is kind of a nothing limbo – waiting – and filling in time doing things like taking photos.... Getting ready to remember something that is almost over,, mind turning to remembering rather than doing...</p> <p>Future knows that this would be</p>
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			<p>(Wild short, Richards bent over) – not common!; all are participating in being photographed – making choices about how to be part of that activity – all hold a dog in some way – Joyce looks straight at camera, holds dog (Oscar) by lead (pet?), not really interacting with it – for him, this is a photo of himself, in meaningful surroundings (geographic, canine, human); Wild looks at dog not camera, dog is standing up on hind legs leaning against him and looking out past the camera – Wild deflects the attention from himself to the dog (Gunner) who is at least partially anthropomorphised by standing on hind legs, this also emphasises the size of the dog – and how short Wild is; Wild looks quite portly, thought might just be his clothes of comments about Joyce being overweight; he also looks kind of stout thought not as much as Wild, and you would doubt that either could be really after the sledging journey; Richards bends over to hold dog (Towser) and point him towards the camera – shutter has been released as dog's head is turning (blurred) and Richards is squinting towards the camera but not 'posing' ready for it – he's making the photo more about the dog as well? So this was really meant to be a photo of the dogs – only Joyce has somewhat subverted that intent, although photo clearly taken quite casually – didn't wait until everyone was properly posed and ready, so some element of chance for Joyce's stance too. It is a 'good' photo of him, which might be some of the reason he acquired/kept it (maybe even taken with his camera???)</p>
		Collector	Unknown, Joyce lantern slide copy?
		Me	<p>Dogs, shapes – reminds me of triangle, circle, square – 3 states of matter? – something about completion</p> <p>Sun, warmth, dogs – closeness of men and dogs</p>



.140	<p>Purpose</p> <p>That has been</p>		<p>South Polar Trail caption: “Richards, late Petty Officer Wild, and Joyce, after journey for which they were awarded the Albert Medal” Doesn’t mention/name dogs (though dogs named in other photos in book – I think all of them) – caption is about medal, photo on surface is not – photo/caption functioning to bring in something from outside core narrative that Joyce(?) wants to emphasise (medal)</p> <p>Wild: joined navy at 15, petty officer (like Joyce); returned to navy after RSP died within a year of typhoid (see McElrea 26 (early career), 260 (death))</p>
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12 Appendix C: The Ernest Edward Mills Joyce





Collection at Canterbury Museum





This Appendix sets out the entire Ernest Edward Mills Joyce collection as it exists at Canterbury Museum today. It provides a reference point for photographs discussed but not illustrated in the text of the thesis, and an overview of the collection and the current extent of associated information. It does not attempt to describe all of the pictures and objects accurately or in detail, but presents the descriptive information as it is constructed by the Museum, including errors and omissions.





The text is taken directly from the Museum's collection management database. Some anonymities have been clarified and errors corrected as part of the development of this thesis. The updated information has been incorporated into the database and is presented here. In other cases, the information remains unchanged by the current enquiry.





	<p>Description: A dual compass and sundial. Name: Compass and Sun Dial Maker: P. Orr & Sons, Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.1</p> <p>Note: this object is stored in a photographic negative box, but this format is not present in the Joyce collection photographs, and it would appear that the box was provided after the object entered the Museum.</p>
	<p>Description: Cape Royds, Shackleton's Winter Quarters, 1908 (showing Arrol Johnston motor car); British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>) 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.2</p>

	<p>Description: Cape Royds, Shackleton's Winter Quarters, 1907; British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908-1909 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.3</p>
	<p>Description: <i>Aurora</i>, Cape Evans 1915, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.4</p>
	<p>Description: Collecting Adelie penguin eggs from Cape Royds colony, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: 1908-1909 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.5</p>
	<p>Description: Adelie Penguin with chick, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: 1908-1909 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.6</p>





	<p>Description: Man standing among Adelie penguins. Possibly D Mawson, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.7</p>
	<p>Description: Orca surfacing, taken from bow of <i>Nimrod</i>., British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.8</p>
	<p>Description: Mountain range and ice plain. (tent in foreground), British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.9</p>
	<p>Description: Head of dead leopard seal showing teeth</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.10</p>





	<p>Description: Two men recovering supplies among hummocked ice after a blizzard. Cape Royds, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.11</p>
	<p>Description: Emperor penguins at Cape Crozier, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.12</p>
	<p>Description: Adelie penguins at Cape Royds, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.13</p>
	<p>Description: Pair of Adelie penguins., British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.14</p>





	<p>Description: Camp, possibly Beardmore glacier, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.15</p>
	<p>Description: Camp at lower glacier depot, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.16</p>
	<p>Description: Weddell seals on sea ice, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.17</p>
	<p>Description: Weddell seal emerging through hole in ice, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.18</p>




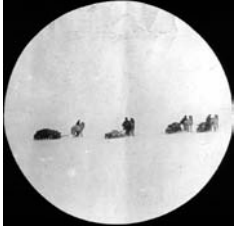
	<p>Description: Nesting Adelie penguins, Cape Royds, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.19</p>
	<p>Description: Nesting Adelie penguins, Cape Royds, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.20</p>
	<p>Description: <i>Nimrod</i>, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.21</p>
	<p>Description: Mt Erebus with summit obscured by cloud, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.22</p>





	<p>Description: Adelie penguins examining a tin at the ice edge, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.23</p>
	<p>Description: Two men, one prone and roped up, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.24</p>
	<p>Description: Wooden box housing for up to 50 lantern slides. With dual metal clasps. Written on inside of box lid "Aurora & Joyce's Journey 1914-17". "Nimrod 1907-09". "Endurance" and "Ross Sea" are also inscribed on the top of the box.</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide box</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.25</p>
	<p>Description: Lone figure standing between two ice formations</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.26</p>





	<p>Description: Cape Royds hut, as found by <i>Aurora</i> party, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.27</p>
	<p>Description: Shackleton's northern party at South Magnetic Pole. From left to right; Mackay, David, Mawson, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: A. McKay, Photographer</p> <p>Date: 16 Jan 1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.28</p>
	<p>Description: Shackleton's party at crater of Mt Erebus, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1908</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.29</p>
	<p>Description: Sledging party at Cape Royds, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1908</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.30</p>





	<p>Description: Two pitched tents and party to camp Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.31</p>
	<p>Description: S.S. <i>Koonya</i>, photographed in heavy swell from <i>Nimrod</i>, during tow south, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Jan 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.32</p>
	<p>Description: Two pitched tents and party Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.34</p>
	<p>Description: Two pitched tents Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.35</p>





	<p>Description: Party around gramophone on in Cape Royds hut, Shackleton standing at right, Ernest Joyce seated at right, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.36</p>
	<p>Description: Three men camped, Bluff depot, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.37</p>
	<p>Description: <i>Nimrod</i>, leaving Torquay England 7 August 1907, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1907</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.38</p>
	<p>Description: Furthest south camp after a blizzard, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Jan 1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.39</p>


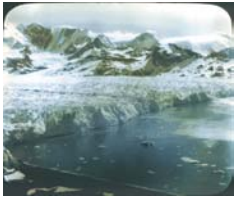


	<p>Description: Farthest south, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Jan 1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.40</p>
	<p>Description: Lower glacier depot, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908-1909</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.41</p>
	<p>Description: Figure standing in front of Shackleton's hut, Cape Royds</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.42</p>
	<p>Description: Departure of polar party, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.43</p>





	<p>Description: Eroded ice berg Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.44</p>
	<p>Description: Weathered rock, possibly keynite Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.45</p>
	<p>Description: Penguins on ice floe, <i>Nimrod</i> in distance, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: 1908-1909 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.46</p>
	<p>Description: Two ship's boats effecting a landing on ice Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.47</p>





	<p>Description: Ice cliff with sediment lines Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.48</p>
	<p>Description: Mt England and Minnehaha ice falls, Granite Harbour Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.49</p>
	<p>Description: King George V Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.50</p>
	<p>Description: Portrait of Captain Robert F Scott R.N. with polar medal Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.51</p>





	<p>Description: Ice cave Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.53</p>
	<p>Description: Volcanic dyke Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.54</p>
	<p>Description: "Interval" slide, coloured Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.55</p>
	<p>Description: Sea ice Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.57</p>





	<p>Description: Sea ice Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.56</p>
	<p>Description: <i>Endurance</i> heeling over due to ice pressure, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer Date: Circa 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.59</p>
	<p>Description: Terminal face of Barne Glacier Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.58</p>
	<p>Description: Glacier? Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.60</p>





	<p>Description: Two men on ice, slide labelled: D Mawson, Adelaide. British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1908</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.61</p>
	<p>Description: Antarctic scene, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.62</p>
	<p>Description: Sea ice</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.63</p>
	<p>Description: Boat landing on Elephant Island, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1916</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.64</p>





	<p>Description: Enjoying a hot drink after landing on Elephant Island. Frank Wild on left, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.65</p>
	<p>Description: Three boats on Elephant Island. James Caird, surrounded by men, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: 1916</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.66</p>
	<p>Description: <i>Endurance</i> in ice, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.67</p>
	<p>Description: Blank slide</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.68</p>





	<p>Description: Ice berg Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.69</p>
	<p>Description: Stancomb Wills lifeboat modified as accommodation, Elephant Island, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer Date: 1916 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.70</p>
	<p>Description: Ice formations with <i>Endurance</i> in background, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer Date: Circa 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.71</p>
	<p>Description: James Caird landing at Elephant island, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer Date: Circa 1916 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.72</p>





	<p>Description: Artist's impression of three boats en route to Elephant Island, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1916</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.73</p>
	<p>Description: Boat landing on Elephant Island, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1916</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.74</p>
	<p>Description: Artist's impression of upturned lifeboat used as shelter, Elephant Island, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1916</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.75</p>
	<p>Description: Three lifeboats on Elephant Island, James Caird at back, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: 1916</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.76</p>





	<p>Description: Ice formations with masts of <i>Endurance</i> behind, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.77</p>
	<p>Description: Wooden box housing for up to 50 lantern slides. Written on the inside lid of the box "Endurance with ?". "Elephant Island. Penguins, seals, gulls".</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide box</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.78</p>
	<p>Description: Robert Falcon Scott in full Royal Navy uniform, Polar Medal and Royal Victorian Order etc</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.79</p>
	<p>Description: Artist's impression of Shackleton's party on ice floe, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.80</p>





	<p>Description: Artist's impression of layout of upturned boat used as shelter, Elephant Island, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.81</p>
	<p>Description: Antarctic Coastline, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer (presumed)</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.82</p>
	<p>Description: Elephant seals hauled out, South Georgia, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer (presumed)</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.83</p>
	<p>Description: Arrival at Elephant Island. Group around James Caird. Note: raised gunnels, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: 1916</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.84</p>





	<p>Description: Arrival at Elephant Island. First ever landing, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: 1916</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.85</p>
	<p>Description: Expedition members on <i>Endurance</i>, Shackleton in middle front in white. Frank Worsley, also in white behind, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1916</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.86</p>
	<p>Description: Coastal scene, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer (presumed)</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.88</p>
	<p>Description: Two men inspecting a possible lead, Antarctica</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.87</p>





	<p>Description: Commander Frank Worsley, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer Date: 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.91</p>
	<p>Description: Enjoying a hot drink after landing on Elephant Island. Frank Wild on right, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer Date: Apr 1916 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.89</p>
	<p>Description: Coastal scene, Antarctica, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Frank Hurley, Date: Circa 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.90</p>
	<p>Description: Ocean camp, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer Date: Dec 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.92</p>





	<p>Description: Man inspecting hummocked ice, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.93</p>
	<p>Description: Stranded, eroded ice berg</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.94</p>
	<p>Description: Ice flowers and fob watch, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.95</p>
	<p>Description: <i>Endurance</i> travelling through sea ice, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.96</p>





	<p>Description: <i>Endurance</i> trapped in ice, Weddell sea, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.97</p>
	<p>Description: <i>Endurance</i> in ice, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.98</p>
	<p>Description: <i>Endurance</i> trapped in ice, Weddell Sea, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.99</p>
	<p>Description: Dogs boarding <i>Endurance</i> after exercise, Weddell Sea (rare photo), Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer (presumed)</p> <p>Date: Circa 1916</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.100</p>





	<p>Description: Hummocked ice with masts of <i>Endurance</i> beyond, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.101</p>
	<p>Description: Coastal scene, Antarctica</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.102</p>
	<p>Description: Frank Hurley with movie camera on ice at bow of <i>Endurance</i>, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer (presumed)</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.103</p>
	<p>Description: <i>Endurance</i> heeling over to port due to ice pressure, Weddell Sea, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.104</p>





	<p>Description: <i>Endurance</i> in ice, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.105</p>
	<p>Description: Bow of <i>Endurance</i> being inspected from ice by three men, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.106</p>
	<p>Description: Working in lab, <i>Endurance</i>, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.107</p>
	<p>Description: Two figures among hummocked ice, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.108</p>





	<p>Description: Penguins, Elephant Island, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.109</p>
	<p>Description: Head of sledge dog</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.110</p>
	<p>Description: Map of Weddell sea area and South Georgia with route taken by James Caird, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.111</p>
	<p>Description: Map of Ross Sea and route taken by Scott's polar party, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Terra Nova</i>) 1910-13</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.112</p>





	<p>Description: Map - Antarctica, New Zealand, Southern Australia and tip of South America</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.113</p>
	<p>Description: Frank Hurley with movie camera filming from yard of <i>Endurance</i>, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Unknown, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.114</p>
	<p>Description: Map of Weddell Sea and <i>Endurance</i> course, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.115</p>
	<p>Description: Order Lees cooking at Ocean Camp, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1916</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.116</p>





	<p>Description: Man on ice floe Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.118</p>
	<p>Description: Bow of <i>Endurance</i> being inspected from ice, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer Date: Circa 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.117</p>
	<p>Description: Two figures among ice Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.119</p>
	<p>Description: Artist's impression of <i>Endurance</i> party on ice floe, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.120</p>





	<p>Description: Four emperor penguins, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer (presumed) Date: Circa 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.121</p>
	<p>Description: Ice floe Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.122</p>
	<p>Description: Stancomb-Wills lifeboat landing at Elephant Island, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer Date: 15 Apr 1916 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.123</p>
	<p>Description: Artist's impression of three <i>Endurance</i> lifeboats en route to Elephant Island, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.124</p>





	<p>Description: Artist's impression <i>Endurance</i> party camped on ice floe, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.125</p>
	<p>Description: Emperor penguin and Antarctic landscape</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.126</p>
	<p>Description: <i>Endurance</i> heeling over in ice, motor launch in Davits, Shackleton in foreground, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.127</p>
	<p>Description: Skua with chick</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.128</p>





	<p>Description: Skua feeding Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.129</p>
	<p>Description: Dog team resting in harness, probably Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Circa 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.130</p>
	<p>Description: Three men hauling loaded sledge fitted with sail Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.131</p>
	<p>Description: Ross Sea Party survivors awaiting part from <i>Aurora</i>, Ernest Joyce at lead, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: 1917 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.132</p>





	<p>Description: Tent erected and stayed, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.133</p>
	<p>Description: <i>Aurora</i>, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1914</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.134</p>
	<p>Description: Sledge with sail, tent and flagged cairn, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.136</p>
	<p>Description: Crushed rudder of <i>Aurora</i> and jury rudder, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1914</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.135</p>





	<p>Description: Mt Hope depot-laying part upon return to Hut Point, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Mar 1916</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.137</p>
	<p>Description: Making camp, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.138</p>
	<p>Description: The Ross Sea Party survivors on board the <i>Aurora</i>, Stevens, Joyce, Cope, Jack, Wild, Richards and Gaze, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1917</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.139</p>
	<p>Description: Cape Evans, Joyce with 'Oscar', Wild and Richards with other dogs, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1917</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.140</p>





	<p>Description: Irvine Owen Gaze on <i>Aurora</i> after being rescued, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party(<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1917</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.141</p>
	<p>Description: Staking out dogs with tent in background, probably Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.142</p>
	<p>Description: The Ross Sea Party survivors on <i>Aurora</i>, L-R Jack, Stephens, Richards, Wild, Gaze, Joyce, Shackleton, Capt Davis, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1917</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.143</p>
	<p>Description: Wild, Joyce, Richards, Shackleton and three Mt Hope sledging dogs on <i>Aurora</i>, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1917</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.144</p>





	<p>Description: Ross Sea Party members L-R Wild, Joyce, Richards and dogs, with Shackleton on <i>Aurora</i>, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1917</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.145</p>
	<p>Description: <i>Aurora</i> at sea and men working aloft, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.146</p>
	<p>Description: Camped with dogs. Traditional tent in background.</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.147</p>
	<p>Description: Camped with dogs. Traditional tent in background.</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.148</p>





	<p>Description: Tethered dogs eye a lone penguin, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.149</p>
	<p>Description: Loaded sledge being hauled by men and dogs, probably Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: Circa 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.150</p>
	<p>Description: Men and dogs resting by sledge</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.151</p>
	<p>Description: Mt Hope area, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Lantern slide</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.152</p>





	<p>Description: Weddell seal Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.153</p>
	<p>Description: Keith Jack with mail on <i>Aurora</i>, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: 1917 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.154</p>
	<p>Description: Hut Point and winter quarters at Observation Hill from sea Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.155</p>
	<p>Description: Mt Hope sledging party. L-R Hayward, Joyce, Wild and Richards, Imperial Trans-Antarctic expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17 Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: 1916 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.156</p>





 <p>A black and white portrait of Sir Ernest Shackleton, a man with dark hair, wearing a suit and tie. The name 'Sir Ernest Shackleton' is written in cursive at the bottom of the image.</p>	<p>Description: Portrait of Sir Ernest Shackleton Name: Lantern slide Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.52</p>
 <p>A black and white photograph of a body of water, identified as Pony Lake, with a rocky shoreline and a small hut visible in the distance.</p>	<p>Description: Pony Lake, Cape Royds. probably British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.157</p>
 <p>A black and white photograph of a dog, identified as Sarison, standing in a snowy or icy environment.</p>	<p>Description: Sarison Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.158</p>
 <p>A black and white photograph of a small hut, identified as the Discovery Hut, situated in a snowy, mountainous landscape.</p>	<p>Description: <i>Discovery</i> Hut at Hut Point Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.159</p>





	<p>Description: Stores, Back Door Bay, Cape Royds, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.160</p>
	<p>Description: Cape Royds, Shackleton's winter quarters, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.161</p>
	<p>Description: At Cape Royds Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.162</p>
	<p>Description: 'Fodder Hut at Royds', L-R Richards, Wild and Joyce (with Oscar), Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1917 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.163</p>





	<p>Description: Cape Royds, Shackleton's winter quarters Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.164</p>
	<p>Description: L-R Wild and Joyce (with Oscar), Cape Evans, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1917 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.165</p>
	<p>Description: <i>Aurora</i> to the rescue of the Ross Sea Expedition, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1917 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.166</p>
	<p>Description: Sledging party, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.167</p>





	<p>Description: Richards and Jack in lab, Cape Evans, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Aurora</i>), Ross Sea Party, 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Photographic negative</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.168</p>
	<p>Description: Mawson (right) and unidentified man, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Photographic negative</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.169</p>
	<p>Description: Ernest Shackleton in front of <i>Discovery</i> hut, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Photographic negative</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.170</p>
	<p>Description: View from bow of <i>Endurance</i> in pack ice, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Photographic negative</p> <p>Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer</p> <p>Date: 1915</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.171</p>





	<p>Description: Two men standing between ice formations, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer Date: 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.172</p>
	<p>Description: Sea elephants on ice, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer Date: 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.173</p>
	<p>Description: Dog team pulling sledge, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer Date: 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.174</p>
	<p>Description: Disembarking dogs from <i>Endurance</i> in pack ice, Weddell Sea, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition (<i>Endurance</i>), 1914-17 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Frank Hurley, Photographer Date: 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.175</p>





	<p>Description: <i>Nimrod</i> moored alongside ice shelf, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908-1909 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.176</p>
	<p>Description: Mackintosh on deck of <i>Nimrod</i>, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908-1909 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.177</p>
	<p>Description: Mackintosh and another man on deck of <i>Nimrod</i> - after Mackintosh's eye removed, British National Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908-1909 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.178</p>
	<p>Description: Frost pattern Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.179</p>





	<p>Description: Penguins Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.180</p>
	<p>Description: "First iceberg" Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.181</p>
	<p>Description: Sledges and men on Ross Ice Shelf, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.182</p>
	<p>Description: Penguins at Cape Royds, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.183</p>





	<p>Description: Penguins at Cape Royds, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.184</p>
	<p>Description: "Emperors visit the Adelie Rookery. Then the fun began", British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.185</p>
	<p>Description: Penguins at Cape Royds, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.186</p>
	<p>Description: Sir Philip Brocklehurst on board <i>Nimrod</i>, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.187</p>





	<p>Description: Ponies on the trail off Hut Point, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.188</p>
	<p>Description: Killer whale off Barne Glacier, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.189</p>
	<p>Description: "Preparing for the long journey Southward, 1908, Outside Hut, Cape Royds", British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.190</p>
	<p>Description: "Training the puppies, 1908", British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.191</p>

	<p>Description: "Ponies waiting to trek South Hut Pt 1908", British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.192</p>
	<p>Description: "Nimrod, New Zealand Mutton, the ship's butcher", British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.193</p>
	<p>Description: Four men and sledge, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.194</p>
	<p>Description: "Cape Barne; Inaccessible Island to the south (right of photo) from Cape Royds", British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.195</p>





	<p>Description: Two men, Sledge and skua on Ross Ice Shelf, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.196</p>
	<p>Description: Sledging party camped, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.197</p>
	<p>Description: Penguin colony, Cape Royds?, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.198</p>
	<p>Description: Penguins, Cape Royds, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.199</p>





	<p>Description: Emperor penguins, Cape Royds?, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.200</p>
	<p>Description: "View from Royds", British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.201</p>
	<p>Description: Adelie penguins, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.202</p>
	<p>Description: Man and dogs on ice - training?, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.203</p>





	<p>Description: Penguins and seal on coastline, Cape Royds?, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.204</p>
	<p>Description: "Mt Erebus, view from Cape Royds", British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.205</p>
	<p>Description: Adelie penguins, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.206</p>
	<p>Description: Penguins, Cape Royds?, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.207</p>

	<p>Description: Penguins, Cape Royds?, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.208</p>
	<p>Description: Unidentified - glacier?, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.209</p>
	<p>Description: <i>Nimrod</i> moored on coastline. Two men on ice, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: 1908 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.210</p>
	<p>Description: "Kennel by the ship", probably Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.211</p>

	<p>Description: Ross Sea Party Seal, Macquarie Island, Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17</p> <p>Name: Photographic negative</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1914</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.212</p>
	<p>Description: "Shackleton and his pony Quan", pulling sledge with tent in background, British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>) 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Photographic negative</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.213</p>
	<p>Description: "Preparing for the Southern Journey. Shackleton in the foreground, 1908, Cape Royds", British Antarctic Expedition (<i>Nimrod</i>), 1907-09</p> <p>Name: Photographic negative</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date: 1908</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.214</p>
	<p>Description: "Family dispute, Adelies"</p> <p>Name: Photographic negative</p> <p>Maker:</p> <p>Date:</p> <p>Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills</p> <p>Accession Number: 1981.110.215</p>

	<p>Description: Penguins Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.216</p>
	<p>Description: Puppies Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.217</p>
	<p>Description: "Bored stiff", Emperor penguins Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.218</p>
	<p>Description: "The Innocents Abroad", man and four penguins Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.219</p>

	<p>Description: Four penguins Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.220</p>
	<p>Description: "Emperor tobogganing" Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.221</p>
	<p>Description: "A typical Husky" Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.222</p>
	<p>Description: Unidentified studio portrait - copy negative Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.223</p>

	<p>Description: Four penguins Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.224</p>
	<p>Description: Sledge dog, probably Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1915? Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.225</p>
	<p>Description: Dog - Probably Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition, Ross Sea Party (<i>Aurora</i>), 1914-17 Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Circa 1915 Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.226</p>
	<p>Description: Killer whale fin, copy negative?, masked for printing Name: Photographic negative Maker: Date: Collection: Joyce, Ernest Edward Mills Accession Number: 1981.110.227</p>

